DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 318 807 UD 027 328

AUTHOR	Hemmons, Willa Mae, Ed.
TITLE	The State of Black Cleveland.
SPONS AGENCY	Cleveland Foundation, Ohio.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-9622700-0-8
PUB DATE	Jun 89
NOTE	271p.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Collected Works - General (020) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Anthologies; *Black Attitudes; Black Education; Black Employment; Black Family; Black Power; *Blacks; Books; *Educational Experience; Elementary Secondary Education; Postsecondary Education; *Quality of Life; Social Action; Social Experience; Urban Areas; *Urban Culture; *Urban Problems
IDENTIFIERS	*Ohio (Cleveland)

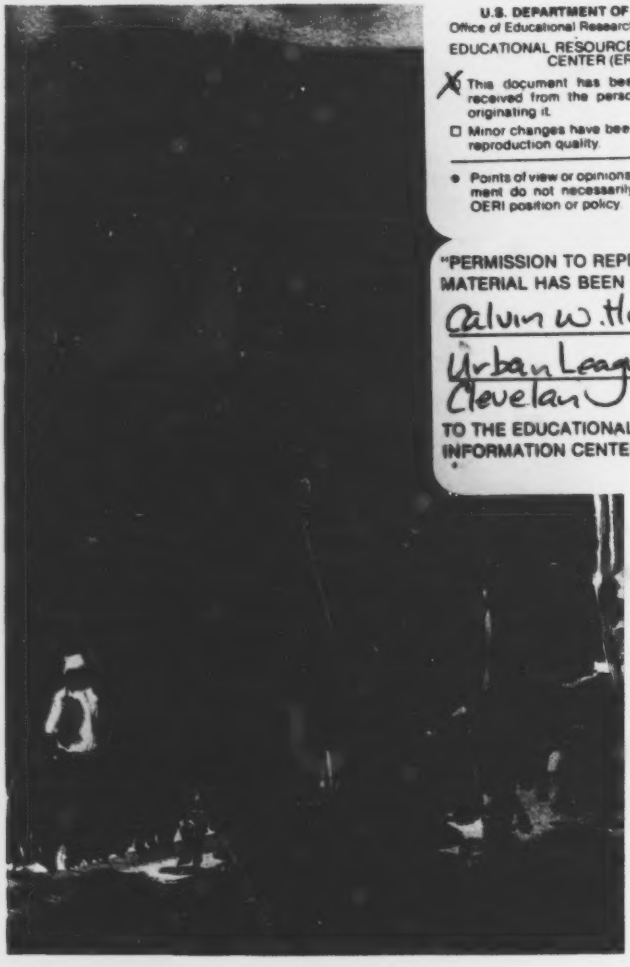
ABSTRACT

This book describes the Black Cleveland experience from the Afrocentric perspective of African American community leaders and researchers who have contributed 22 chapters. It is intended to serve the following functions: (1) establish a knowledge base about African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area; (2) disseminate an Afrocentric perspective as a way of learning about and evaluating the African American experience; (3) serve as an educational tool for both Black and White students in the public and private schools and institutions of higher learning, as well as adults who are engaged in ongoing learning experiences; (4) serve as a planning document for public and private organizations that are formulating programs designed to address community concerns impacting upon African American residents; (5) serve as a social action instrument from which strategies for specific intervention methodologies can be developed, ranging from resolutions to actual societal, organizational, and governmental change that promote an improvement in conditions for African Americans; (6) establish an African American resource personnel network for a unified, coordinated approach to the solution of systemic as well as episodic problems; and (7) serve as a foundation for a research agenda and the creation of an African American Greater Cleveland Think Tank and Community Data Bank. The following aspects of black life are addressed: (1) ethics; (2) government; (3) economy; (4) education; (5) family; and (6) criminal justice. Each chapter includes statistical data on tables and graphs and lists of references. (FMW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED318807

The State of Black Cleveland 1989



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Calvin W. Humphrey
Urban League
Cleveland

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD 027 328

Published by the Urban League of Greater Cleveland

The State of Black Cleveland

Calvin W. Humphrey,
President and Chief Executive Officer
Urban League of Greater Cleveland

Willa Mae Hemmons, Ph.D., J.D.,
Editor

Published by the Urban League of Greater Cleveland
June 1989

The State of Black Cleveland

Dr. Willa Mae Hemmons, Editor

Copyright© 1989 The Urban League of Greater Cleveland

Library of Congress ISSN 1043-7088

ISBN 0-9622700-0-8

First Printing June 1989

Printed in The United States of America
by Orange Blossom Press, Cleveland, Ohio

CREDITS

COVER:
Courtesy of Malcolm Brown Gallery, *City Streets*, watercolor by Malcolm Brown

COPY EDITOR:
Margaret L. Thoren

WORD PROCESSING:
Ms. Letitia A. Leslie
Her calmness and competency throughout this book were crucial to its successful completion.

The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
Board of Trustees

Theresa E. Embry
Chair

Ruth Clement
1st Vice Chair

Steven M. Sims
2nd Vice Chairman

Linda Dukes-Campbell
Secretary

Richard J. Moriarty, Esq.
Treasurer

Susan R. Blaser
Edward L. Blunt
Walter A. Burks
Ruth D. Clement
Donald C. Duckworth
Sammie Tyree Cox, Ed.D.
Mimi Forbes
Bruce P. Foster
Tika N.Y. Fufuka
David Goss
Robert L. Green, Ph.D.
Donald C. Haley, Esq.
Yank Heisler
Edgar B. Jackson, M.D.
Franklyn A. Jackson, Ph.D.
Stanley L. McBee
Marvin A. McMickle, Ph.D.
Edwina Moss
Kimberley A. Parsons
Elizabeth Perdue
Madge Potts-Williams, DDS
Daryl P. Rush, Esq.
Herbert Charles Smith, Ph.D.
Paul W. Thomas
Alfred D. Tutela
Lesley Brooks Wells, Judge
Regina P. White
Artha Woods

Calvin W. Humphrey
President and Chief Executive Officer

Brenda J. Harris
Executive Vice President

Willa Mae Hemmons
Vice President

EDITORIAL BOARD

Adrienne Lash Jones, Ph.D., Chair
Oberlin College

Ralph S. Tyler Esq.
Greater Cleveland Roundtable

Howard A. Mims, Ph.D.
Cleveland State University

Scott S. Cowen, Ph.D.
Case Western Reserve University

Linda Liska Belgrave, Ph.D.
Case Western Reserve University

Margaret L. Thoren
Copy Editor

The State of Black Cleveland

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Message from the Chair, *Theresa E. Embry* viii

Foreword, *Dr. Adrienne Lash Jones* ix

Introduction, *Calvin W. Humphrey* xi

Overview 1

ETHICAL STATE

The Relationship Between the Black Church and the Community in Cleveland, *Rev. Dr. Otis Moss* 9

Seeking Social Justice in Cleveland: Looking Out for the Left-Outs, *Mylion Waite* 19

GOVERNMENTAL STATE

Equal Economic Opportunity: A Progress Report, *Prof. Booker T. Tall* 33

The Politics of Progress, *City Council President George L. Forbes* 59

Civil Rights: An Assessment, *U.S. Representative Louis B. Stokes* 67

ECONOMIC STATE

Economic Overview of the Status of African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area, *Margaret E. Williams* 77

Entrepreneurship, Economic Equality & Empowerment, *Cheryle Ann Wills* 85

The Role of the Financial Institutions in Building Black Entrepreneurship, *Steven M. Sims* 95

Poverty Is Created When Jobs Leave Town: A Profile of Poverty in Cleveland *Edwin M. Robinson & George C. Zeller* 105

EDUCATIONAL STATE

Invest in the Front Side of Life:
From Conception to Kindergarten,
C.J. Prentiss 115

Cleveland Public School – University Partnerships: Futuristic
Considerations for Public Educational Institutions,
Dr. J. John Harris, III and Dr. Sanza B. Clark 135

Accountability: The Emerging Challenge
to Higher Education, *Dr. Nolen M. Ellison* 139

African American Research,
Dr. Duvon G. Winborne and Dr. Sanza B. Clark 151

Black Performance Arts in Cleveland,
Dr. Dolores Person Lairet 159

Education for a Global Perspective,
Prof. Gaston Ndyajunwoha 171

FAMILY STATE

The Black Family: A Unique Social System in Transition,
Dr. Andrew W. Edwards 183

The Crisis of Teenage Pregnancy,
Dr. D. Hendricks-Sterling 195

Health Care in Decline,
Dr. Michael R. Williams 211

CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATE

The Deterioration of Due Process,
James R. Willis, Esq. and Dr. Willa Mae Hemmons 225

Drug Abuse
Dr. Joseph Methapo 239

Juvenile Gangs: An Analysis
Dr. Mary S. Jackson 249

City of Cleveland: Crime-Poverty Analysis
Dr. Willa Mae Hemmons 257

CONCLUSION 263

Message from the Chair

The prototype for *The State of Black Cleveland* was provided by The National Urban League's *State of Black America*. The authors for *The State of Black Cleveland* include individuals who not only have an intellectual grasp of their subject matter but who are also actively working to foster change in their respective substantive areas. For the insights, input, and invaluable direction which they have given through their participation, we, at the Urban League of Greater Cleveland, are forever grateful. We appreciate the time, energy, expertise and effort of those who serve on the Editorial Board. We also thank the support staff, and technicians from not only the League, but also the Malcolm Brown Gallery, and Orange Blossom Press. Special thanks to The Cleveland Foundation — particularly, for the partial funding of this work.

The contributions of our authors add a special dimension to this endeavor. That dimension reflects an action orientation which is the foundation of the book. In addition to being a descriptive narrative of the conditions of African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area, it serves as a catalyst for change. It can only act in that capacity if members of this community take up the charges which the book recommends and see themselves responsible for their implementation. To ignore its recommendations would be ominous, for the African American community, and for all!

Theresa E. Embry

Foreword

By Dr. Adrienne Lash Jones
Oberlin College

At the dawning of the 20th Century, Cleveland, Ohio was growing at a phenomenal rate each decade. From 1890 to 1950 the city enjoyed unprecedented expansion of its industry; and, as a result of its population, frequent comparisons were made between it and its "twin" city of Toronto. For Blacks, the city promised to be a mecca of opportunities. Its reputation, built on the liberal abolitionist tradition of its New England settlers, set it apart from similar industrial cities. With a small Black nucleus whose numbers have never exceeded 2 percent during the 19th century, the city appeared to be hospitable to Blacks as well as to the large number of immigrants that were streaming in to take advantage of employment opportunities.

The city was widely heralded as "the best place for our people," and in some ways it might have been. For example, before 1910 Black residents boasted that "there is not a single street in this city that is inhabited by nothing but Negroes." Although a few areas were distinguishable as "Negro enclaves", the small population was scattered among Whites on the westside as well as the eastside. Although the Central area held the highest numbers, they were mixed among White immigrants in most of the city's wards.

Before World War I, schools were also well integrated. The few Black teachers in the system were likewise scattered according to residence and interest. While there were limitations, such as in trade schools which catered to the interests of restricted labor unions, the system itself was not segregated.

Of course, life was not perfect. Job opportunities were limited, with Black workers employed for the most part in unskilled or semi-skilled job categories.

Sadly, the city did not live up to its early promise. With the rapid increase in Black population which accompanied the two world wars, and the general national deterioration of relations between the races, Cleveland lost its leading edge. By the latter half of the 20th century discrimination in housing, job opportunities, education, public accommodations, and health care had worsened. As a result, the overall quality of life for the majority of Blacks in Cleveland has deteriorated. As will be demonstrated in the chapters which make up this book, we find ourselves facing a period of crisis. While the national administration celebrates economic recovery, Blacks in Cleveland — much like Blacks across the nation — are underrepresented in corporate management positions, business ownership, the professions, and key decision making bodies. On the other

hand, Blacks are overrepresented among school dropout statistics, teen pregnancies, in the criminal justice system, and drug usage. The statistics tell a dismal tale of the raging effects of racism. In spite of the success of Blacks in politics and the growth of the middle class, the majority of Blacks are in a state of depression reminiscent in actuality of the 1930s.

I must congratulate the Urban League of Greater Cleveland on this unprecedented collection of African American academic, yet pragmatic, scholarship. It represents an approach which is fundamental to the attainment of true equality in the United States, as well as this area. *The State of Black Cleveland* embodies the idea that there needs to be a systematization that is ongoing and comprehensive of the information about African Americans. It is also based upon the concept that such an organizational framework is necessary as a predecessor to meaningful, effective change.

Organzied according to principles of disciplinary perspective, i.e., government, economics, education, etc., the book both identifies the prevailing issues surrounding the African American situation within each perspective as well as structures the corresponding strategies for change. And, although the underlying frames of reference of each author are varied, all had the coherent and unifying theme of affirmative intervention as an action base. *The State of Black Cleveland*, hence epitomizes a form of grounded research popularized by Drs. Glaser and Strauss of sociological fame.

What is important to me as an historian, is that the authors do not overlook the historical context influencing the current conditions of the African America community. Each of the authors very definitely and succinctly links the past to the present in relating how African Americans are faring with respect to the particular subject area being discussed. This linkage practice gives a sense of connectedness that pervades the book despite the multiplicity of views and topics. It also gives it an internal validity which is pertinent in assessing the contributive value of the book as a whole.

In terms of planning for the African American's future, then, in the Greater Cleveland community, *The State of Black Cleveland* is an essential research document. In terms of learning about the African American's history in the Greater Cleveland community, it is a fundamental educational tool. And, in terms of evoking a sense of pride and identity in the Community's African American culture, it symbolizes a beginning that is crucial in this turning point of Greater Cleveland's renaissance.

I commend the authors for their succinct appraisal of the status of Blacks in our city at this critical point in time. The book represents a major "coming together" of academics and community activists in a manner which is itself a model for combining our efforts toward positive change. The editor is to be heartily commended for her leadership and hard work to make this a major resource for the Greater Cleveland community.

Introduction

This book culminates a year of research, analysis and discussion about the condition of African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area. While paralleling the National Urban League's publication, *The State of Black America*, our authors were selected and the data organized in such a way that *The State of Black Cleveland* serves a more direct functional purpose.

That purpose is embodied in a rough paraphrase of a quote by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in which he maintained essentially that it was not one's condition that determine one's life but one's response to those conditions. Another King observation informs us by virtue of some of the findings and relationships presented in the book. There, Dr. King maintains that the real measure of a person is not where they stand in times of comfort and convenience, but in times of controversy and challenge.

The challenges in each chapter are discussed according to the unique perspective of the author. All of the primary authors for each chapter are African American – a term, which many of the authors use interchangeably with that of "Black." John E. Jacobs, the President of the National Urban League has recently articulated an agreement with the Rev. Jesse Jackson's use of the designation, African American. However, our authors were encouraged to express themselves in a manner which reflected their own personal inclinations and professional experiences.

Our work with the authors transcended the inclusion of their individual chapters as the end product of their efforts. Rather, we see their relationship with *The State of Black Cleveland* as a "precedent" rather than a "project." The writing of the chapters is only the beginning of their commitment to this effort. With their help, we believe this endeavor will be institutionalized. That institutionalization entails the function of *The State of Black Cleveland* as a multifaceted endeavor. Those functions include its use as a(n):

1. knowledge base about African Americans in the Greater Cleveland area.
2. disseminator of an Afrocentric perspective as a way of learning about and evaluating the African American experience.
3. educational tool for both Black and White students in the public and private schools as well as institutions of higher learning; and, adults who are engaged in on-going learning experiences.
4. planning document for public and private organizations which are formulating programs designed to address community concerns impacting upon African American residents.
5. social action instrument from which strategies for specific intervention methodologies can be developed starting from resolutions to actual

societal, organizational, governmental, etc., change as well as the *result* of African American condition improvement.

6. establishment of an African American resource personnel network seeking a unified, coordinated approach to the solution of systemic as well as episodic problems.
7. foundation for a research agenda and the creation of an African American Greater Cleveland Think Tank and Community Data Bank.

Finally, we are charged now, as is recommended by Ronald W. Walters in his book *Black Presidential Politics in America: Strategic Approach*, with developing a systematic strategy (Agenda) for the implementation of the authors' recommendations. The details of implementation are elaborated more fully in the Conclusion as set forth in a Strategy and Work Plan format. The timelines for that Strategy and Work Plan are up to all of us.

Calvin W. Humphrey,
President and Chief Executive Officer,
The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
June, 1989

Overview

In a speech delivered on May 6, 1989, for the Georgia Second National Conference on Blacks in Higher Education held in Atlanta, Dr. Na'im Akbar defined the Afrocentric perspective. To paraphrase his description, of the Afrocentric perspective, one's importance as an intellectual being is important only insofar as it derives from a group consciousness. One's ultimate responsibility is to the group and one's contributions are valuable only inasmuch as they ultimately advance the group's interest. Any brilliance which might be manifested by one, in truth, represents the culmination of excellence in the group experience. In other words, the group has manifested its accomplishments through one individual.

For Blacks in Greater Cleveland, as nationally, this usually means that the emphasis is on negative dimensions of four hundred years of deprivation. The negative dimensions such as drugs, juvenile gangs, alleged welfare fraud, drop outs, unplanned pregnancy, etc., are constantly featured in the media and in the usual courses of study about African Americans.

While those problems are addressed by our authors here, the process, purpose and the plan of *The State of Black Cleveland* program symbolizes, jointly and severally, a positive dimension of the African American group experience. Through the utilization, both consciously and unconsciously, of the Afrocentric perspective, *The State of Black Cleveland* authors have described the Black Cleveland experience in a way which intuitively represents its ontological and axiological features.

In discussing these features, they necessarily have adopted the Afrocentric proposition which, according to Dr. Akbar, is a major precept of African ontology. According to the Afrocentric perspective, then, individuality gets its highest expression through the group. In essence, we cannot understand the behavior of any given individual except in the context of the historical, sociological and human experience of the group. Axiology, in general, presumes that there are rules of conduct which guide actions. Dr. Akbar explains that African axiology embodies certain values and principles which proceed from a basic proposition that there is a universal justice and universal truth. The two universalities ensure that ultimately wrongs will be righted and injustices made just. That is the underlying thread of the first chapter by Rev. Dr. Otis Moss.

This brings us to a brief introduction of the organization of *The State of Black Cleveland* itself. The book is divided into six sections as indicated in the Table of Contents. With the exception of the first section featuring Rev. Dr. Otis Moss and Mylion Waite, the sections are listed in priority order for 1989.

I. The Governmental State
II. The Economic State
III. The Education State
IV. The Family State
V. The Criminal Justice State

The *The City of Richmond v. Croson Co.* case setting aside a type of minority set asides, tells us why the need to address the Governmental State is most pressing. Having been pushed out of the American mainstream, as far as the private sector is concerned, the public sector and its enforcement institutions are the last hopes of Blacks. This is inferred in the Ethics section and indicated by Rev. Dr. Otis Moss's call for community partnerships guided by religious principles. Likewise, the InterChurch Council's Mylion Waite demands the injection of a social consciousness in government's dealings with African Americans.

In the Government section proper Equal Economic Opportunity Consultant Booker T. Tall expertly points the way for Black economic participation in the public sector. Other discussions with Mr. Tall indicate that there are several key components that *distinguish* Cleveland's minority set-aside program from that of Richmond, Virginia. Group actualization through empowerment follows the trends of the Eastern Seaboard when the attainment of governmental power by perspective Ethnic groups pulled whole neighborhoods out of poverty. The relationship between progress and politics is similarly explained through an autobiographical (the oral history type) narrative of City Council President George L. Forbes. The use of political power to obtain economic progress is the foundation of his chapter. The review of his twenty-six years in Cleveland politics reveals a "kinder, gentler" George from that commonly depicted in the news media. At this point in the history of Black Cleveland, Mr. Forbes is convinced that the hurdle of *Croson* must be surmounted so that, through political processes, a greatly expanded Black as well as White, middle class can be redeveloped in Cleveland.

The historical perspective, so prominent in the work here of Messers Tall and Forbes, is also used by U.S. Representative Louis B. Stokes to link history with current government legislation affecting the Civil Rights of Blacks. Poignantly, U.S. Representative Stokes takes us through the trials and tribulations of the Civil Rights struggle in Cleveland. Far from being over, Stokes, too, emphasizes the need for unified Black participation on a systematic basis in the political process. He also provides valuable information about the significant pieces of legislation governing plant closings as well as what Congress dubbed "welfare reform". He lists his fellow members in the Congressional Black Caucus. However, that listing only highlights the fact that twenty-three legislators cannot, in and of themselves, require Congress to give a higher priority to domestic spending vis-a-vis the military budget.

In the Economic section, Margaret E. Williams describes the overall picture of Black financial deprivation. The depressed state of Black economic vitality in the areas of unemployment and housing is perhaps not as discouraging as the prognosis that it will stay that way in the foreseeable future. The future is a concern of businesswoman, Cheryle A. Wills, as well. Ms. Wills outlines a program for economic empowerment that reflects that found in the Government Section. That that tie must be established and firmly entrenched in future governmental policies is manifested with clear unanimity among all our authors writing on

subjects which bear on the economic plight of African Americans. Underlying that tie, is the link with complementary and preparatory educational programming.

Steven M. Sims develops the case that the future must be made more auspicious for Black bank ownership and influence. Mr. Sims applauds the preliminary efforts of some area banks to operate as "development banks" in the Greater Cleveland area. The concept of a development bank infers that there will be a more involved commitment in the community in which a bank operates.

Concluding the Economic section, Messers. Robinson and Zeller of the Council for Economic Opportunities detail the logical result of systematically depriving Blacks at all levels of the economy: **POVERTY!** With clarity and utilizing sophisticated statistical analyses, they explain the demographic relationships between poverty and certain social statuses such as race, sex and education. One relationship which is unequivocal is that between membership in the Black racial category and the increased probability of being poor by virtue of that membership.

Beginning the Education section with a chapter on the importance of certain learning experiences in early childhood, C.J. Prentiss combines an educational assessment with a case approach to come up with a succinct picture of what the field is like in Cleveland at this time. The most salient point Ms. Prentiss makes is the need to mobilize resources for an intensified focus on parental involvement and education when the children are at an early age.

Dr. John Harris III, Dean of the College of Education at Cleveland State University, along with Dr. Sanza Clark of the same college make an important commitment to Cleveland and its African American youth. They outline the framework for a more viable and effective partnership between Cleveland State University and the Cuyahoga County Public School systems. The necessity of early identification and recruitment of African American youth, including timely intervention methods, is part of the new pledge that Cleveland State University has made to the community. While it entails a broader definition, the traditional role of an institution of higher education is nevertheless one of the prerequisites to salvaging African American youth in Greater Cleveland for meaningful roles in the Twenty-First Century.

Another of the prerequisites is reflected in the next article by the President of Cuyahoga Community College, Dr. Nolen M. Ellison and his collaborators, Drs. Janet Smith and Robert Green. The urban education idea is not a novel one at Cuyahoga Community College. What is new is the comprehensive strategy involving more community organizations and groups as well as the appropriate educational agencies in its implementation. The accompanying idea of articulation is also fundamental to its expanded conceptualization and adaptation.

The successful execution of these educational goals and objectives also requires research methodologies which are valid and reliable for African Americans according to Dr. Duvon G. Winborne and again Dr. Sanza Clark. Like Dr. Akbar, Drs. Winborne and Clark advocate that the Afrocentric perspective be used when

studying African Americans. That perspective is unique, insofar as it presumes that there are several levels of knowledge. There is that level which is fastened on *learning* experiences as well as that which is nourished by *experimental* experiences. To fully appreciate this view, it must be pointed out then that any given situation must take into consideration not only the aspects manifested by what is ostensibly observed — but also by what is *felt*. In other words, there has to be an honest recognition that both the "subjects" and the "researcher" have feelings. And, since much of this work is a result of a participant observation type perspective that while the writers were making their observations, they also were integrally involved in the outcome(s) (Moss, Waite, Tall, Stokes, Forbes, Williams, Wills, Sims, etc). This fact, rather than taking away from the work, adds to it in terms of its contribution to an understanding of one community's African American experience. As Drs. Akbar, Winborne and Clark would no doubt state, reason and feeling working together give a more reliable perspective of reality.

Thus, essentially, what the research here shows is that Blacks, Hispanics, women and the poor are not only in trouble. As pointed out by Dr. Akbar, this *society* is in trouble. It is imperative for everyone's sake, that we find ways to collectively live in peaceful coexistence and mutual respect.

This point is made both in the works of Dr. Dolores Person Lairet and Professor Gaston Ndyajunwoha. Dr. Lairet candidly explains the need for experimental expression as a fundamental part of one's ongoing growth and development through the arts. The fact that that feature of African American identity has been rather truncated and sporadic in Cleveland evidences the need for the application of significantly greater support in the area of the Arts.

Professor Nydajunwoha dialogues the connectedness which Greater Cleveland African Americans have with other persons of Afrogenetic backgrounds from around the world. He seeks to link the experimental with the educational as a mechanism for increased economic survival and success opportunities.

The phenomenal capacity of the African American family to survive is eloquently described by Dr. Andrew W. Edwards. Notwithstanding the dysfunctional context within which the African American family has had to operate, Dr. Edwards, an Associate Professor in the Social Work Department at Cleveland State University, identifies its strengths in the tradition of Sociologist Robert Hill (*State of Black America*). Dr. Hill points out that distortions in the societal process prevent the equitable distribution of resources. Dr. Edwards catalogues the type of local, community agencies available to address the various types of African American Family reactive responses.

Clinical Psychologist, Dr. D. Hendricks-Sterling, uses the same type of approach in developing the Greater Cleveland community's body of knowledge about variables related to teenage pregnancy. Citing examples relating to the issues such as health, economics and education, which exacerbate the problems surrounding teenage pregnancy, Dr. Hendricks-Sterling makes recommendations which are both feasible and realistic.

Health is an issue which while affecting more than just the family, impacts that societal institution first and most directly. The basic survival of a people is contingent upon their ability to overcome the physical as well as the social elements. Health is a necessity to survival. Dr. Williams, a public health expert, provides information indicating that being an African American means that one lives more briefly and less well than other members of the population. Economics, then, not only deprives one of access to goods and services, it affects one's ability to enjoy those respective commodities. For instance, most discussions of AIDS either begin, end or are significantly guided by socioeconomic concerns. In the past entire civilizations have been eradicated by disease. Thus, issues relating to the quality, availability and type of health care are ones which are paramount in the evaluation of the state of African America in any given locale. As poverty has gone up in this region, so has the incidence of health care problems.

The repository for all of the aforementioned problems is of course, the criminal justice system. Attorneys James R. Willis and Willa Mae Hemmons decry the decreasing protection of civil rights in that system. That bemoaning is in the face of the present law-and-order society's mounting inclination to "lock up and throw away the key". This mentality seems to pertain with more particularity to Blacks even when accused of committing crimes similar to those committed by Whites. The same feeling is evoked when Blacks are accused of crimes which, while nonviolent, purportedly took money away from taxpayers (i.e., the assertion of $9.8 million in welfare fraud being committed in Cuyahoga County-but, Cf. Mylion Waite's article). The fact that America's contempt for criminals is sometimes racially specific is brought out by the fact that one survey showed that 51 percent of Americans felt that Ollie North was still a hero despite his conviction. In his May 6th speech, Dr. Akbar thought that this was peculiar. Noting North's continued support, Dr. Akbar questioned: "Who cares that the American people were deceived; that we were made to look like fools! That we embattled and killed innocent people around the world?" Despite Dr. Akbar's questions, to many, North's conviction was a travesty that another *$40 million* in court costs and legal fees should rectify unless it takes more.

At any rate, the desperados who — despite the fact that they lack education and are unemployed — still want to be as high a roller as Ollie North only face destruction and death. Between January and April of 1989, drug related deaths in Cleveland increased four times as Black entrepreneurs sought by car, bus, plane, and train to extend the crack market from Detroit to Cleveland with "market surveys" still being done by Chicago, Los Angeles and Miami speculators. These tales of woe concerning the causes and consequences of drug abuse are sadly told by Dr. Joseph Methapo, another Clinical Psychologist. Two of the solutions to the drug problem in Greater Cleveland - education and employment with dignity — require such a myriad of intermediary "solutions" themselves that only a concentrated, all-out strategy to reclaim Cleveland's youth will work.

Solutions for that reclamation are given in the Chapter by Dr. Mary S. Jackson. Now teaching in the Social Work Department of Cleveland State University,

Dr. Jackson was employed for fifteen years by the Ohio Department of Youth Services. Her research for the Chapter came from actual, first hand observation and study of several East Side juvenile gangs. An empathetic, yet capable investigator, Dr. Jackson shares salient insights as to the reasons for delinquency. Her discussion of 'status frustration' and the search for higher mobility motivates us to refer back to the Ollie North and Drug Desperado discussion. It is incumbent upon the Greater Cleveland Community to create legitimate avenues of success for African American youth in a timely and meaningful manner.

ETHICAL STATE

The Relationship Between the Black Church and the Community in Cleveland

By Otis Moss, Jr., M.Div.; D.D.
Olivet Institutional Baptist Church

INTRODUCTION

The Black Church has been a solid rock for African Americans in the face of the devastation of our other social institutions. When our families were torn apart, our enterprises usurped, our national affiliations erased and our possessions destroyed, the Black Church flourished to sustain African Americans throughout our ordeals.

More importantly, the Black Church gave African Americans the means to develop the energies, strategies and abilities to overcome those ordeals that we faced. Throughout American history, the Black Church gave African Americans the community, consistency, concern and competency to survive and at times even to thrive amid adversity. It was the only institution in the past and, for most African Americans, in the present, to be owned and operated solely by Blacks. As such, it gave African Americans the only opportunity most of us have had to develop leadership skills as well as to nurture our self-confidence and self-esteem even in the face of great adversity.[1]

In the context of religion, then, we were able to maintain a sense of dignity and self-worth despite concerted attacks on the integrity of our identity. Further, because of the nature of religion, there was always a collective unity and catharsis available against the odds.

An entire community, through religion, was able to maintain some semblance of identity. The legacy of Black religion in the United States, is seen in the leadership and accomplishments of such individuals as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who changed the face of a nation, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who changed the political process of a country, and the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who changed the definition of a race and wrote an indelible chapter in legislative history. In addition, there were countless others who followed the maxim that God's justice and love supersede that of an unjust secular world's and that, in time, the former would prevail. This exemplifies what I have defined as 'relevation' — the prerequisite to peaceful but effective revolution.[2]

Later, I will point out certain church leaders of the sixties here in the Greater

Cleveland Area whose tenure predates mine. In this introductory statement, however, I would like to recognize certain members of the Cleveland Clergy who, though relative newcomers, have made a decided impact upon the Greater Cleveland community. The Rev. Marvin McMickel of Antioch Baptist Church is a presence in such civic organizations as the NAACP and The Urban League of Greater Cleveland. The Rev. Allison F. Phillips, another relatively recent colleague, of Mt. Zion Congregational Church is noted for his contributions to the Greater Cleveland Roundtable in terms of education and economic initiatives. And, the works of Rev. James Thomas of St. Mark's Presbyterian Church must be recognized as must those of Rev. Tony Minor of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The tradition of Black Church leadership forming the nucleus of community reform dates back to the days of slavery, but is still reflected as an ongoing feature of Cleveland's Black church leadership.[3]

It should be pointed out here that despite the fact that Cleveland's Black Church leadership is at the forefront of Black Cleveland leadership in the general community, unfortunately this leadership is more prominent on *civic* boards than on *corporate* ones. This is a phenomenon which is a concern of African Americans throughout the area. It is an important issue. Unless there is more extensive Black representation in significant decision making capacities with regard to policies which impact upon the quality of life in Cleveland, our interests will continue to be ignored.

Furthermore, in this era of increasing federalism when the local agenda is the one which has to execute the majority of the programs designed for Black progress, it is crucial that there be informed, responsive and effective Black input into the community's decision-making processes.

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY.

There are varied assertions of the real function of religion for society. One perspective insists that it is an instrument of control; another sees it as a vehicle through which humankind develops a sense of self. For the African American, it has been the substance and guide with regard to social behavior. The precepts embodied in the African American Church have helped to define a basic humanity which transcended the system of slavery and second class citizenship. This function helped to offset any definition of inferiority which was perpetrated by a distortion of various portions of the Bible and widely disseminated by some White groups. In other words, the Black Church kept the Black Race from committing suicide.[4]

Genesis 9:18-29 was such a passage used by misguided White groups. In order to justify the inhumanity inflicted upon African Americans in the United States, we had to be characterized as being less than human and thereby as having no soul. Everett Tilson's book, *Segregation and the Bible*[5], describes segregation

as being rationalized by Genesis 9:22-25 in which a curse was visited upon Noah's son Ham. Misconceptions perpetrated through those passages were that:

1. the curse had divine genesis;
2. the curse had earthly biological relevancy;
3. Ham, the Black son, was the target of the curse; and,
4. all Ham's descendents (i.e., people of color) were cursed.

These misconceptions were of tremendous solace to Whites in justifying their monopoly over economic and political resources in a manner that would otherwise have been seen as pure greed.

In such a milieu, according to Dr. Major J. Jones, three events gave rise to the birth and expansion of the Black Church:

- an increased production of cotton related to the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in American and the invention of the weaving machine in England;
- the arrival in America of the evangelical Christian bodies such as the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians; and,
- the leadership abilities of the Black preacher.

Because of the contradictions present in the White slave society, the African-American preacher had a dual role. Dr. Jones states that the African-American preacher's task was:

> **...to preach to slaves in such a way as not to attack slavery openly, but rather to make of religion, derived from the master oppressor, a means of developing not only an adequate discipline for surviving the ordeals of the Black experience, but also a living ground of hope for the future, no matter what the ordeal.[6]**

Black People Worshipped In Three Expressions of Religion

- There was the mixed church, with separate seating for Blacks. But soon this ended in protests such as the one staged by Richard Allen, who later founded the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1794.
- The second type of Black Church was the separate church under White leadership, White preachers, etc.
- The third type was the Black Church under Black leadership. During the early days before and even after the Civil War, this type of church was not given too much encouragement by Whites. "...After such rebellions as those led by Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey, the separate Black church was most carefully watched."[7]

The *true* Black Church is one where the leadership programs, administration and policies are exclusively in the hands of Black people, however. This is to be distinguished from a Black Congregation in a White Denomination.

The African American preacher was both spiritual genius and protest leader.

His language was often expressed in codes — eluding the mind of the Slave Master but always touching the mind and heart of the Slave. Regardless of the type of Black Church which evolved, however, there was unrelenting pressure upon them to equate law and order with Christian morality. In spite of these pressures the Black Church must remain relevant to the Black community. Black theology must be a theology of hope. It must be able to infuse African-Americans, participating in other societal institutions, with a spirit of selfhood, confidence, unity and divine guidance.

As Dr. James H. Cone has stated:

> **A Black theologian wants to know what the gospel has to say to a man who is jobless and cannot get work to support his family because the society is unjust. He wants to know what God's word is to the countless Black boys and girls who are fatherless and motherless because white society decreed that they have no rights.[8]**

Dr. Cone feels that Black theology must go beyond the rationalization for adherence to the status quo based upon such explanations that "this system is the least evil of any other existing political state."[9]

Those Black religious leaders who have accepted this charge in the Greater Cleveland Area have gone on to form the foundation for civil rights action in this community.

THE IMPACT OF THE CHURCH/COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS ON CIVIL RIGHTS:

Key Organizations involved in the Relationship

Although I hesitate to start listing organizations or individuals who, having had the benefit of Black Church leadership, have led Cleveland in obtaining social justice for African Americans here, I feel that without the following organizations, many achievements would never have been made. They include:

1. The NAACP
2. The Baptist Ministers Conference
3. Operation PUSH
4. The Twenty-First Congressional District Caucus
5. The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
6. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference
7. The United Pastor's Association (the 1960s)
8. The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance

Key People Involved in the Relationship

Likewise, in terms of Black Church leadership, one should not really limit such a designation to the pastorate, however. In the interest of giving credit to the specific category of Cleveland Clergy who took up the call of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King during the sixties, I must salute these individuals:

- Rev. Dr. Donald Jacobs (Inter-Church Council)
- Bishop Charles Watkins (Pentecostal Church of Christ, deceased, 1988)
- Rev. Dr. E. Theophilus Caviness (Greater Abyssinia Baptist Church)
- Rev. Dr. Alfred Waller (Shiloh Baptist Church)
- Rev. Dr. Henry Payton (Holy Trinity Baptist Church)
- Rev. Dr. Thomas McCray, (Area AME Presiding Elder)

These leaders opened up their homes and their churches to organize, mobilize and implement action plans that required a bravery and resolution of purpose found only in the truly faithful. When the Rev. Dr. King would come to town, much pre-planning and meetings would be necessary so that the objectives of the Civil Rights movement could be more effectively attained. The message and meaning of civil disobedience, if required, had to be carefully transmitted to the respective congregations. An unprecedented sense of unity of spirit had to be universally communicated. Each minister in his own way had to deal with special problems sometimes created by:

- his denominational discipline
- his congregational constituency
- governmental reaction
- inter-denominational communication
- personal sacrifice

(These problems would undoubtedly be important considerations even today).

In addition, the movement had to be sustained and the goals institutionalized after the excitement generated by a visit from the Rev. Dr. King was over. Its precepts had to be incorporated into the organizational structure and processes of any existing, as well as new organizations, which could possibly meet the Civil Rights needs of African Americans.

The fact that they worked diligently then and now in doing that is found in what they accomplished subsequent to the sixties. Each of them was successful in carving out a place of Civil Rights achievement which will forever stand as his legacy in Cleveland.

In performing this role, these African American ministers epitomized a crucial element of growth in our community. The role was congruent with their duty of redemption. This is because the most revolutionary thing on earth is *redemption*. Redemption is synonymous with freedom. Salvation is equivalent to the political word, liberation. Hence, in participating in the Civil Rights Movement these members of the Clergy were ministers and liberators.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Their individual legacies stand in the creation and continued existence of the following accomplishments:

- hunger/homeless/clothing centers;
- missionary work;
- increased Civil Rights;
- housing developments;
- community leadership; and,
- community networking and unity.

Without their perseverance, skill and devotion, many of the agencies and institutions which provide these services would, if operating at all, would not have benefited the African American community.

Many of the social problems which plague African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area cannot begin to be fully addressed without the cooperation of the African American clergy. Their assistance is a prerequisite first of all to any real insight into a given problem. They see all of these problems first hand. They know where the problems exist most rampantly, where attention should be focused and what methods are probably most likely to work in obtaining solutions. Thus, although on the one hand, they lack the resources of government in fashioning a solution, on the other hand, many times government lacks the requisite information and commitment to achieve meaningful results. Therefore, Church-Community partnerships are required to solve most community problems. Such Church-Community partnerships should contain not only bureaucratic experts, but those who actually work with the target populations from a religious perspective and therefore have first hand knowledge of the conditions which exist.

The community action efforts in the areas which have been most successful have had significant input as well as leadership from the Black Clergy. This means that there would most probably be an enhancement of results if members of the Black Clergy were included in seeking an amelioration of every problem from housing, to education, to drugs, to crime, to health, to the arts, to welfare, to entrepreneurship, to finance, to Civil Rights, to the family, to teenage pregnancy.

The independence, self-reliance, communal spirit and self-esteem which have been fostered and sustained through the Black Church are characteristics which readily lend themselves to the self-help ethos which the state promotes today. There are at least 65,000 Black churches in America.[10] They are natural liaisons to the Black community which the state should utilize for help. The political achievements would not have been possible without the Black church. The Black church has been instrumental in maintaining faith, hope and heritage. The fact that it is the keeper of these key supports to the Black community is one of the greatest accomplishments of the Black Church.

In order to structure and direct such a Church—Community relationship, however, so that it would have a greater probability of achieving an improvement in the condition of Greater Cleveland African Americans, I would like to propose the following "Ten Principles for Church-Community Action in Cuyahoga County."

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCH:

I. must forever remain the keeper of faith, hope and heritage and develop programs and policies to fulfill that purpose.

II. must affirm and re-establish direct linkages with Black institutions of higher learning.

III. must remain the house of freedom and liberation undergirded by a Theology of Hope.

IV. must remain the moral and ethical teacher as well as being the spiritual mentor for African American people — especially the Black family.

V. must become the teacher of nonviolence and the provider of nonviolent education for the African American and the total community.

VI. must continue to produce leadership which is unencumbered by partisan political interests: leadership which is close enough to the political structure to participate in it; yet, independent of it and thereby free to lead organized protests against it when necessary.

VII. must deliberately seek to be the conscience of the community in all of the critical and relevant issues of our time.

VIII. must retain the integrity, autonomy and sanctity of its discipline, principle and religious foundation.

IX. must remain the ecumenical, interdenominational, interfaith and/or universal witness in a pluralistic but often polarized society.

X. must not withdraw from the difficult role of redemption reconciliation and conflict resolution within its own structures as well as the wider community.

CONCLUSION

In closing, I want to a quote from a previous article:

> **We must not only be endowed with something..., but we must also be related to something. We must be related to God and to our fellowman; endowed with dignity and a reasonable portion of instruments that will enable us to have dome degree of self-respect and self-determination."[11]**

I would like to emphasize the need to remember and reinforce the doctrine of nonviolence so effectively pronounced and practiced by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This need for a reaffirmation of the nonviolent philosophy is required because its opposite is such a destructive part of our society. And, because African Americans are so isolated in the society that when they practice violence, they hurt each other rather than other groups. Nonviolence starts on the homefront.[12]

When you state unequivocally that you stand for nonviolence, you place a heavy moral responsibility upon those who follow you.

The oppressed must be *better* than the oppressor otherwise we will forever.

remain oppressed.

Jesus *had* to be better than Herod. Moses *had* to be better than Pharoah. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., *had* to be better than George Wallace or Bull Connor.

The beauty of the nonviolent philosophy is that when utilized as a unifying strategy, it teaches a people a definitive way of handling oppression in an affirmative and effective manner. There is no way to teach people to react nonviolently to others and not teach them to do likewise with themselves.

Finally, the basic and most unifying principle within the Black church is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Quite often we think we have to downplay that principle and lift up some temporary social solution in order to gain community improvements. However, the Gospel of Jesus Christ remains constant and effective. Societal programs and leaders come and go, but the Gospel of Jesus Christ is forever.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Otis Moss, M.Div., D.D., "Going from Disgrace to Dignity" in *Best Black Sermons*, ed. William M. Philpot (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972)

[2] Idem, "Black Church Distinctives", *Black Church Lifestyles*, (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1986.)

[3] Ibid., p. 17.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Everett Tilson, *Segregation and the Bible*, (Nashville, Tenn.: Abington Press, 1958), p. .

[6] Dr. Marjorie J. Jones, *Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope*, (Nashville, Tenn.: Abington Press, 1971), p. 42.

[7] Ibid., p. 43.

[8] Dr. James H. Cone *Black Theology and Black Power*, (New York: Seabury Press, 1969), p. 43

[9] Ibid., p. 82-83.

[10] *The Black Resource Guide*, (Washington, D.C.: Johnson, 1988-89), p. 34.

[11] Otis Moss, M.Div., D.D., *The Black Church Renaissance in Black Church Lifestyles*, (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1986)

[12] Ibid., p. 167

Seeking Social Justice in Cleveland: Looking Out for the Left-Outs

By Mylion Waite
Associate Director, InterChurch Council of Greater Cleveland

"Let each of you look out not only for his own interests, but also for the interests of others." — *Philippians 2:4*

"As you did it to one of the least of these, you did it to me." — *Matthew 25:49*

"If you want peace, work for justice." — *Pope Paul VI*

When contemplating advocacy actions on behalf of those who have hope, but whose needs are unacknowledged by society, I am guided by the above passages, as I am when addressing the issue of social justice in our society.

Two years ago, at the opening of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center in Havana, Cuba, a worshiper raised the question: "How does one define social justice?" Rev. Al Rowe, from Patterson, New Jersey and a city councilman there, did not take long to respond: "Having pairs of shoes, when you can only wear one pair at a time, while your neighbor owns none, is a social injustice." Social injustice is recognizing that inequities exist, and taking the responsibility to correct them. Working toward a just society is a function of faith and a prerogative of our American citizenship.

Addressing the State of Black Cleveland from the viewpoint of a social justice advocate is unpopular at times. But such advocacy is necessary if change is to take place.

Blacks in greater Cleveland are having a hard time. While that statement is probably not new information, the harshness of life for hose who seek relief from hunger, homelessness, and poor health is notably glaring under the banner of "Comeback Cleveland" and the excitement surrounding that slogan.

The "Comeback of Cleveland" has literally been the talk of the own, and, if the Growth Association is successful, the talk of the nation. Indeed, there is much to talk about: a lighted skyline, the glitz and glitter of the Galleria which some say rivals shopping meccas in New York or San Francisco, the Inner Harbor project. Ohio City is often featured as an example of a community at work

rebuilding homes for its citizens. Fun in the Flats satisfies the tastes of yuppies. Talk of world class hotels, talk of enterprise zones, talk of development on and off the shores of Lake Erie, talk of rising office towers... lots of talk about things goes on. But who's talking and who's listening?

Who in the business, finance, sports or political arenas is talking about the East side of the city where 49 percent of the residents are poor? Who is talking about the fact that a Black infant born in Cleveland has the same chances of surviving the first hours of life as an infant born in Costa Rica? Everybody is talking, but who's listening?

Once a year the United Way wages a *successful* campaign to dole out dollars to agencies attempting to serve the social service needs in our community. It exceeded its $50 million goal for 1988. Inspite of this success, current figures show that in "the city of Cleveland more than half of the Black population lives in poverty" (see Robinson-Zeller chapter). This is despite efforts documented by the Federal government to "...recalculated poverty" out of existence – see (*Time Magazine*, January 9, 1989, p.29).

One study mentioned in that *Time* article found "...Social Security more effective than the tax system and need-based welfare programs in lifting Americans out of poverty." That finding is undoubtedly due to the constituency served by the former (elderly) as compared to the later (children, women, and minorities).

Since 1981, the Hunger Task Force of the Interchurch Council has consistently served 40,000 – 50,000 people monthly at its hunger centers at a cost of about $1 million a year. For the same time and people, the combined dollars either spent or pledged for tax abatement projects total over $15 million dollars, (just for the "Figgie" project alone). These dollars ignore the rumblings in stomachs of thousands of Clevelanders, most of them Black. Those rumblings are found in any family where a mother of two is trying to survive on $321.00 per month (exclusive of food stamps).

I have no doubt that Cleveland will "comeback," that is, in terms of bricks and mortar. But a city without social conscience or justice, a city that ignores its neediest citizens is not a city to boast.

Each night, 300 – 500 individuals seek shelter at the city's emergency shelters. In 1986, there were no emergency shelters for women and children; today we have eight. Should the city planners be pleased because the community has responded to this crisis? Why is there a housing problem in Cleveland? The answer lies in the fact that the city loses houses each year to fire, abandonment, redevelopment, landlord neglect, foreclosures, and reduction in government provided low-income housing.

Since 1960, Cleveland has suffered a net lost of 43,000 housing units. Cleveland's housing stock is old: 75 percent is over forty years old, one-third of it is substandard. Over 18,500 vacant lots are scattered throughout the City of Cleveland. Vacancy rates among existing housing units is at an all-time high, and home-ownership is now declining for the first time in forty years. What we face in Cleveland is more than a housing crisis. It is a housing emergency. The fact

remains that Cleveland lacks enough affordable, decent housing and should be declared a national disaster.

Homelessness is an affront to basic American values and is a violation of basic human dignity. The late Senator Hubert Humphrey said, "The moral test of a society is how it treats people at the dawn of life, its children; how it treats those at the twilight of life, its elderly; and how it treats its citizens in the shadow of life — the weak, the disadvantaged, the poor and the handicapped.

THE POOR AT RISK AT HOME

Federal housing assistance had been cut by nearly $20 billion — a 62 percent reduction in federal support for housing — which includes the virtual elimination of new construction of public housing; the ending to Section 8 new construction; drastic reductions in Community Development Block Grants (Cleveland, for instance, may receive only $23 million next year for its entire housing program); the shut down of Rural Home-Ownership program; and severe cuts in Section 202 elderly housing.

HOUSING FOR THE POOR VS. TAX BREAKS FOR THE RICH

As the Tax Abatement Commission deliberates on the pros and cons of tax breaks, perhaps they could talk in terms of what abatement dollars buy in terms of housing units for Cleveland neighborhoods.

Tax Abatement		Number of Houses*
National City Bank	=	1,795
BP America	=	2,692
Hyatt Regency Hotel	=	3,205
Ritz Carlton/Society National Bank	=	15,385
TOTAL		**23,077**

* *based on the appraised value of 2640 East 65th Street, the substandard house occupied by the Simms family until December 7, 1987, when it and its occupants, were completely devoured by flames. The gas to 2640 East 65th Street was shut off on November 30, 1987 because of non-payment. A faulty space heater was in use which ignited the house. Four children Dawn, Darvin, Ernest and Wayne and their great grandfather, Theodore Johnson, were killed trying to keep warm on a cold winter night.*

Recent Federal tax policies have shifted income from the poor to the rich. The Joint Congressional Committee on Taxation has reported that the wealthiest 5.6 percent of taxpayers received 35 percent of the benefits of the across the board tax cuts since 1981.

Since 1978, the working poor in America have paid an increasingly greater proportion of their income in taxes — this is a classic example of Social Injustice!

If a natural disaster occurred in Cleveland, such as a flood, earthquake or hurricane, which affected but 1 percent of the total number of homeless, the Feder-

al government would declare a national crisis and step in to help. Why can't joblessness, poverty, and poor opportunity for equal education be seen as disasters that need massive Federal support?

Residential fires in the City of Cleveland, particularly ones leading to loss of life, seem to be a great respecter of family income levels, as the following facts reveal.

- Of the forty-three fatalities due to residential fires in the city of Cleveland during the year ending April 1988 (last date for available data), only two are known to have occurred in neighborhoods (census tracts) with less than a 40 percent poverty rate.
- Cleveland victims of fatal house fires lived in neighborhoods suffering from an average 54.7 percent poverty rate.

As bad as these startling facts are, we can expect them to get worse before they get better as the rate of poverty increases. Cleveland neighborhoods hit by fatal fires over the past year have experienced a 45.6 percent increase in poverty since 1980. Considering these conditions, the fact that the State of Ohio has no public housing program whatsoever is unbelievable.

The combination of rapid deterioration in housing, increased poverty and severe cuts in housing assistance is a formula for urban disaster. The fatalities due to residential fires in Cleveland's poverty-stricken neighborhoods are only a hint of things to come if a public housing program is not established soon.

IF WE DON'T ACT NOW, THE TALK OF CLEVELAND WILL BE CIVIC VISION 2000: THE OTHER CLEVELAND

Imagine the City of Cleveland with well over one-half its residents officially poor and nearly two-thirds at or below 125 percent of the poverty level.

Imagine metropolitan Cleveland with 25,800 fewer housing units; 99,000 fewer manufacturing jobs; and 26,000 more homeless persons than it has now.

Imagine over 68 percent of the Black population and nearly 40 percent of the Hispanic population of Cuyahoga County living below the poverty line.

Imagine the social consequences to Cleveland and Cuyahoga County of maintaining poverty rates 5.5 times higher and 4.4 times higher than their respective unemployment rates.

If you can imagine these social situations then you have a fairly accurate vision of exactly what Cleveland and Cuyahoga County will look like as we enter the 21st century, just a few years away, if current trends continue.

The key to this particular civic vision rests in the phrase "if current trends continue". So far, beyond the possibility of a major shift in national public policy, there is precious little non-rhetorical evidence to indicate that socio-economic trends established over the past eight years will not continue into the 1990's and beyond.

Based upon local trends during the 1980s, Cuyahoga County will be a far more economically polarized community in the year 2000 than it is today. Given the

established bond between race and economics, we can also expect a more racially polarized county in 2000 than we have today. The gap between inner-city and suburban neighborhoods, families and school systems will significantly widen by the 21st century, to the point where, in essence, two separate and profoundly unequal worlds will co-exist within Cuyahoga County.

If present trends continue:

- the official poverty rate of residents in the East Cleveland School District will be 53 times higher than residents in the Westlake School District;
- the official poverty rate of residents in the 21st Congressional District will be 12 times higher than the poverty rate of 19th Congressional District residents;
- the official poverty rate of Black residents of Cuyahoga County will be 4.3 times higher than that of White County residents; and,
- the official poverty rate of Cleveland's westside will be 5.5 times higher than that of suburban Cuyahoga County (minus East Cleveland).

It is hard to imagine how our present standard, quality and style of life can be maintained within such a radically polarized community. Indeed, it is hard to imagine how our current form of democracy can survive these polarizing trends for very long. Of course, all that is necessary for them to materialize and triumph, is for good people to do nothing.

POVERTY & UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN SELECT CUYAHOGA COUNTY COMMUNITIES 1980-1988 and Beyond

Poverty Rates	1980	1988	2000*
	%	%	%
Cuyahoga County	13.6	18.6	29.2
City of Cleveland	27.1	38.7	54.1
City of East Cleveland	26.7	41.6	73.9
Cleveland Suburbs [minus E. Cleve.]	4.2	5.2	7.0
City of Cleveland/Eastside	33.9	49.0	71.6
City of Cleveland/Westside	16.1	25.2	38.9
Blacks in Cuyahoga County	26.4	43.1	68.2
Whites in Cuyahoga County	6.6	10.3	15.9
Hispanics in Cuyahoga County	25.7	31.2	39.5
Residents of 21st Congr. District	25.7	36.1	51.7
Residents of 20th Congr. District	10.6	15.2	22.0
Residents of 19th Congr. District	3.5	3.8	4.3
Cleveland City School District Residents	27.0	38.4	55.6
E. Cleve. City School District Residents	24.6	38.4	59.1
Westlake School District Residents	2.1	1.6	.9

RATIO OF POVERTY RATE TO UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

	1980	1988	2000
Cuyahoga County	2.43:1	3.21:1	4.40:1
City of Cleveland	3.39:1	4.25:1	5.54:1
Cleveland Suburbs	1.31:1	1.60:1	2.04:1

NUMBER OF MANUFACTURING JOBS

	1979	1988	2000*
Metropolitan Cleveland	276,300	201,800	102,470

*projected estimates for the year 2000 are based on continuance of trends established during 1980-1988 within the affected constituency.
Source of Information: Poverty Indicators, Volume Six

We need to remember the noted Theologian, Karl Barth's, call for Christians to take the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other. The newspapers tell us of malnourished and homeless people. The Bible tells us how to respond to their needs, and reminds us of God's abiding concern for the poor, hungry, and oppressed. We are called to live out that concern in our own lives.

"Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and fed you, or thirsty and gave you drink, a stranger and took you in....?" Matthew 25:37-38

In the late 1960s, the nation discovered what its poor have known for decades: people are starving in the richest country in the world. Hunger and chronic malnutrition remain daily facts of life for 800 million people world-wide. In the United States, Michael Harrington noted in *Blaming the Victim* that Americans are hungry. In Cleveland, each month, 40,000 – 50,000 individuals are fed at the hunger centers operated by the Interchurch Council. This figure does not include those families too proud to accept a bag of groceries out of a church basement.

A steady stream of news stories that depicted hunger and hard times in cities and suburban neighborhoods, promoted congressional hearings on hunger. In 1983 Representative Leon E. Panetta (D. Calif.) who chaired hearings on hunger in Alabama, Los Angeles and Cleveland, said: "One part of America is having a difficult time acknowledging that another part is hungry." When I heard that comment, I remember thinking – how sad, it's true.

In 1983, the general public was still saying: "Show me someone hungry, ala Ethiopia, frail arms, distended stomachs and sunken eyes." A view of hunger has to be visual to be accepted. But in America, we don't allow our hungry to be so visible.

The Reagan Administration, when confronted with findings of the various

Senate hearings contended that isolated hardship cases had been blown out of proportion by media and professional advocates. However, those of us who work in emergency food centers, soup kitchens, hear the personal stories of the poor describing their struggles to feed themselves and their families, and we know that the problem exists.

The Hunger Task Force, under the leadership of the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland opened its first hunger center at Cory United Methodist Church in 1974.

In June of 1982, only eight years later, the Interchurch Council fed 12,000 individuals. In October of that year it fed 25,000, 35,000 in November and 48,000 in December, at its fourteen hunger centers. The need became so overwhelming that the Council expanded to twenty-one hunger centers and added seven soup kitchens.

Volunteers were accustomed to serving people in crisis, but they were not prepared for the rapid increases in the numbers caused by the recession. As the demand increased, the faces of the poor began to change. There were more families, more old people and people with recent work histories. Workers who had been laid off from well-paying industrial jobs and who had once contributed a turkey at Thanksgiving or Christmas to help feed the hunger were now standing in hunger center lines. People who previously had believed that welfare benefits and food stamps took care of poor people came to a new realization in that the "safety net" did little to stretch the average food stamp benefit of 50¢ per meal. Nor did the safety net address the fact that only one in four employed Americans received unemployment benefits.

The original concept for the hunger centers was to provide emergency assistance to families, that is, when a check was lost or stolen, or the family provider laid off or food money was used to buy medicine. Early on it became apparent that hunger was a chronic issue for many.

After years of struggle, people are finally admitting the existence of hunger, and that hunger is a condition of poverty. People living month to month and year after year below the poverty line rely on hunger centers as regular sources of food.

A survey done by the Interchurch Council revealed that in a usual month:

- 57 percent of parents eat less or different food at meals to save food for their children;
- 81 percent of emergency food clients eat fewer meals or serve less food because they are low on food; and,
- 47 percent go without eating on some days because there is not enough food.

And, more than one out of every two clients surveyed said that either they themselves or someone they know:

- borrow money from friends/relatives;

- borrow food from neighbors/friends;
- buy food on credit;
- find odd jobs when possible; and,
- sell household items.

More than one out of every four clients surveyed said that either they themselves or others they know:

- sell their blood;
- have stolen something;
- have sorted through garbage;
- have asked grocery stores or restaurants for food; and,
- have worked as a prostitute to feed their families.

It is not difficult to understand how so many are hungry and suffering from malnutrition in Cleveland when we examine the following facts.

Currently, the maximum grant for a family of three is $321 per month or 45 percent of the state's minimum standard. That standard is the amount the Ohio Department of Human Services estimates is actually needed for clothing, shelter, utilities, transportation, personal or incidental items, and to supplement food stamps. For a General Assistance recipient, the maximum grant is $141 per month or 33 percent of the minimum standard.

The minimum wage, at $3.35 per hour, had, until the 1989 Congressional legislation, not been raised since 1981 and in 1989, had the 1979 purchasing power of about $2.79.

Cuyahoga County's poverty rate for the Black Population rose from 27 percent in 1980 to 43 percent in 1988 according to the Council for Economic Opportunities. The corresponding rates for Whites are 6.6 percent and 10.3 percent respectively. The much touted economic revival has not happened in Cleveland as yet. If national trends remain true, Blacks will benefit little from the "Comeback Cleveland" talk, except for people with low-paying service jobs, such as hotel clerks or fast food workers. Only a few years ago Blacks looked forward to industrial jobs. Cleveland has lost 27 percent of its industrial jobs since 1979.

These are only a few of the reasons Blacks are suffering disproportionately in "Comeback Cleveland". The future does not appear much better unless there is bold action by middle class citizens and people in power. Clevelanders should lead the way in putting funds where public values are. Families and children are suffering because of a lack of money to maintain adequate diets. A change can be made, all we need is the will to do so.

Gladys Hall, talking at a Federation for Community Planning luncheon on January 20, 1989, indicated that Welfare reform, as currently construed, may not be all that is needed. She also pointed out that it is difficult to talk about since it won't come fully until 1992. Ohio funds only 47 percent of need. Cuyahoga County, vis-a-vis the rest of Ohio is unique because in any month $65 million

is provided to 300,000 people. Ms. Hall explained that although she is hired by the County Commissioners, she must observe State regulations. She is concerned that any efforts the agency supports to lift people out of poverty, not dehumanize clients. Hall maintains that clients must maintain their dignity.

I feel that possible courses of bold action for change include the following.

First of all, true welfare reform would allow the program to pay $674 per month for a family of three, instead of only $321. The program would allow the mother to either work to obtain the difference or pay the $674. It would not label her a welfare cheat when she – on her own – makes up the difference extemporaneously and is thereby defined as a criminal. Secondly, then, such efforts would be decriminalized. This would heighten her self-esteem and would be *true* justice. The "justice" system currently works against her. Mandatory work programs as found in such Welfare Reform programs as REACH in New Jersey for heads of two parent families and who are parents of children over six, are not sanctioned for Cuyahoga County clients because of a lawsuit in the past.

Therefore, a voluntary program in Cuyahoga County simply will not produce the kinds of jobs which will allow clients to live *decently*, on minimum wages.

Medicaid coverage is available for clients under Welfare Reform for *only* one year and child card subsidies are likewise inadequate as presently planned. The figure of $9.8 million in welfare fraud committed by clients who have to subsidize their incomes is thus misleading and should be compared with defense contract fraud. Project Learn – another relatively new "welfare" program provides a recipient with an additional $62 a month if under 18 years – if one fails to return to school the $62 is taken away. General Assistance is inherently inadequate. In 1988, 42,000 clients on this program received (in Cuyahoga County) $142/month and $90 in food stamps. This is social justice?

To end hunger and homelessness in Cleveland, much needs to be done. We must first understand that hunger and homelessness are an affront to human dignity and, as such, the solutions must be based on social justice.

Justice demands:

- that every Cleveland family has a decent home;
- that the community gives hope;
- that the community recognizes that hunger is rooted in poverty and therefore requires systematic changes that will address social, economic, and political policies;
- that we stop blaming the poor for being poor;
- that we not become victims of rhetoric and stereotypes;
- that we must give empowerment to the hungry and homeless so they can move out of poverty;
- that we raise funds for hunger and homeless projects while we work to change public policy; and,
- that we recognize that housing is a basic human right.

The Gospel compels us:

- to speak and act in ways that seek social justice;
- to play a central role in seeking justice;
- to work for a more just world;
- to seek equality, dignity, and rights for all people;
- to stand with the poor and powerless advocating justice in society;
- to advocate national policies that reflect our national will to eliminate homelessness, poverty, and hunger; and,
- to urge the Federal Government to become involved in promoting affordable housing for low income and working-class persons.

Welfare reform is no mere exercise in budget balancing or myth propagation. It is a matter of life and death.

To be more specific, the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland joins the Ohio Council of Churches and Have a Heart Ohio in calling *for an amendment to state budgeting procedures to utilize the minimum standard of need in budget calculations rather than the payment standard.*

We also urge full provision be made for child care and transportation for welfare recipients enrolled in NETWORK or its equivalent. A survey of child care in Greater Cleveland revealed an average monthly cost of $220 for children under five and a shortfall of several thousand places in certified child care centers. Those places and monies must be made available if welfare reform is to work.

We should also amend Medicaid coverage in Ohio. In 1986, Congress passed legislation allowing states the option of extending coverage to (and get Federal funding assistance for): poor pregnant women and children under five whose family incomes are above the Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) payment levels but below the Federal poverty level. It would cost no more than $200 million per year to extend this option to all children under age nineteen.

One Stealth bomber costs $350 million. If we built one less than the 132 now planned, we could easily pay to extend Medicaid — with $150 million to spare.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would again call your attention to the need for social reform as a prerequisite and companion for genuine welfare reform. We're the only industrialized nation, except for South Africa, without a national health care plan. We are the only Western industrialized nation that does not offer child allowances to families. The minimum wage, now at its lowest real value ever, desperately needs to be raised. We need a state-funded housing program designed to provide decent, affordable housing for the poor.

Fewer than one of four AFDC recipients receive housing assistance. A housing program, an Ohio State Housing Trust Fund, is long overdue. So is a massive jobs creation program, not merely a jobs training program. These programs would cost money, considerable sums of money. But if we really value life, liberty and

equality, then we must initiate such programs designed to abolish poverty, not reform the poor.

We need to put public funds where public values are. Families and children are priceless. But all too many of them are also penniless or nearly so. Without public support, they have no future. Nor does a society that discards its poor instead of its poverty.

The problem of homelessness and lack of affordable housing in Ohio is greater than state resources can overcome. Federal funding at much more massive levels than is now the case will be required. However, the State of Ohio can, and most certainly should, do more, much more, to help alleviate the problem of homelessness in Ohio.

I have a few concrete and fully achievable suggestions.

First, institute a change of priorities in state government. Make safe, decent, affordable housing a top priority. Top priorities, of course, deserve an office at the top of state government. To implement this goal, the State of Ohio should create a Cabinet-level position on housing., The new Ohio Department of Housing would be responsible for construction, rehabilitation, financing and all other phases of public housing in the state. Clearly identifiable goals need to be set. I would suggest the following three goals and timetable:

1. By 1990, create a functioning Ohio Department of Housing.
2. By 2000, eliminate homelessness in Ohio
3. By 2010, the assure safe, decent, affordable housing for every Ohioan.

In the interim, we must begin today to address and overcome the critical housing needs of Ohio's poorest population, the recipients of AFDC and GA grants.

We need to overcome the many structural barriers to decent housing for welfare recipients and their families. If welfare recipients had an additional $300 or more per month, they would have no housing problem. Housing is out there, but it is not affordable. How do we make it affordable for welfare recipients? I have three suggestions.

1. Increase AFDC and GA grants so that they equal the state-established minimum standard of need. That means an increase of $350 per month to an AFDC family of three and an increase of $210 a month to a GA recipient.
2. Remove current penalties to GA recipients for sharing the cost of their housing. When GA recipients show creativity in reducing their cost of living through shared housing, they should not be penalized for their creativity.
3. Establish state-funded housing stamps for AFDC/GA recipients equal to the difference between received welfare grants and minimum needs for the recipient.

Surely housing is as basic a need as food. If we have food stamps, then why not also have housing stamps?

Finally and perhaps most relevant is the need for massive public funding by the State of Ohio for family-type public housing. As you may know, Ohio can only

issue and sell state bonds for housing designed for the elderly. Ohio is prevented from selling bonds for much needed family-type housing by current obstructive constitutional provisions. This is simply wrong. And it can be simply solved. Eliminate this bureaucratic barrier to public housing in Ohio by drafting and passing legislation designed to overcome the obstacle.

Another way would involve the courts. Community pressure must be brought to bear to encourage the Supreme Court to accept "industrial bonds" as housing bonds able to fund public housing for Ohio's low-income families. Eliminating this provisional obstacle to affordable housing is the least this Committee and the General Assembly can do.

Much more, of course, needs to be done in order to have an Ohio which is different from the past — one which has room at the inn for everyone, even those harassed, poverty-stricken and homeless families now forced to seek shelter in our urban mangers.

Now that we have examined homelessness and hunger, we should now look at some possible courses of action available to individuals and organizations seeking to make a difference in bringing an end to hunger and homelessness. But first we must understand what justice demands of us.

The answer to what just demands of us is found in ancient Biblical values to which most Americans claim some sort of adherence. Ours should be to place the needs and rights of people, especially the poorest, above all else, for it is written.

Quite frankly, after many years of lobbying in the traditional way, that is, by political persuasion, it is my conviction that if the poor will ever be treated better they must become empowered through grassroots organizing.

Lobbying of politicians will bring hunger center and shelters. Grassroots concern will bring about systemic changes.

GOVERNMENTAL STATE

Equal Economic Opportunity: A Progress Report

By Professor Booker T. Tall
Consultant, Tower City Enterprises

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this Chapter is to examine the nature and scope of equal economic opportunities in the public sector of Greater Cleveland. Particular emphasis is placed on the steps being taken by public sector agencies to assure equal opportunity or Black Clevelanders to participate in the production and distribution of material and services. My thesis in this study agrees with the findings of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders chaired by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. The Commission's report encourage business ownership as an important solution not only to the problem of Black unemployment but also to increase minority participation in the national economy.[1]

The information given in this chapter is not exhaustive, but does give a comprehensive review of the conditions that existed in the past and that prevail today.

A brief history of Black entrepreneurs in Cleveland is given, as well as the status and trends of Cleveland's attitudes toward business ownership by Black Clevelanders. In addition, a synopsis of self-help economic initiatives are included in order to better understand the public policies which encourage business ownership as a valid tool for economic progress.

Special acknowledgments are in order to contributing agencies, especially the City of Cleveland's Office of Equal/ Opportunity, the Greater Cleveland Procurement Roundtable, The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History and the Western Reserve Historical Society.

II. HISTORY AND TRENDS

Cleveland's Black settlers became entrepreneurs as early as 1809. Cleveland's first Black settler, George Peake, owned 103 acres of land and was the inventor of a labor saving device for grinding corn into meal.[2]

Tennesseean Madison Tilly, employed 100 workers in the construction business early in the nineteenth century Alfred Greenbrier who moved here from Kentucky, raised cattle and horses during Cleveland's first half century. John Brown, a barber in Cleveland's finest hotel, became wealthy while wisely investments in real estate.

The role call of early Black settlers, includes John Malvin, who was a carpenter by trade. By dint of hard work he was able to purchase a lake boat, The Grampus,

for hauling limestone to Cleveland's fledging steel industry.

Although by 1950 less than 3 percent of Cleveland's population was Black and the Black laws and slavery were in effect throughout the United States, there are documented examples of successful Black businesses with integrated patronage.

Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of Black settlers served as laborers and semi-skilled workers, there was a sizeable number who were highly skilled and entrepreneurs.

Early records, indicated that Black migrants to Cleveland from the border states, were blacksmiths, barbers, bricklayers, carpenters, cooks, masonry workers, tailors, tavern owners and investors in real estate. They had a monopoly in the barbering trade until the 1920s. George C. Jones also owned a foundry where he manufactured trolley wheels for street cars. Jones owned Holland Trolley Car Supply Co. of Cleveland, and his trolley wheels were exported to many European countries.

Twentieth Century

Although there were a handful of exceptions, economic discrimination against Blacks escalated in Cleveland from the late 1890s and reach its first high water during the thirties and early forties.

Exceptions that should be mentioned were such notable achievers as Herbert Chauncey, founder of Cleveland's first Black owned financial institution, The Empire Savings and Loan Company; the investor and enterprising entrepreneur Garret Morgan, from Kentucky; and Alonzo Wright, who gained the support of Standard Oil, and owned all the Standard Oil stations in the Black community.

The twentieth century found Cleveland a flourishing manufacturing town; but, Blacks in general were not permitted to take part in this new prosperity. Major employers, trade unions and third sector institutions exclude Blacks from representative employment on all levels. Hospitals excluded Black doctors, auto dealers refused to engage Black salesmen, and financial institutions excluded Blacks even as tellers.

In 1935, when John O. Holly and his loyal followers founded the Future Outlook League (FOL) on the slogan "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" economic opportunities for Blacks were at a standstill. Except for the local Post Office, economic discrimination in Cleveland was at its worse! Blacks were refused any meaningful employment, even in their own neighborhoods.

Because of the picketing and boycott initiated by the FOL, the first Black clerk was hired by the May Company in late 1935. Also, because of the FOL's campaign, fifteen Black women were hired by Ohio Bell Telephone for the first time in 1941, and Black youths were hired for the first time to distribute telephone directories.

The Future Outlook League

The Future Outlook League is perhaps the most effective grassroot organization ever to exist in Cleveland in terms of an economic agenda that produced outstanding results in promoting Black entrepreneurship and economic, upward

mobility.

The League's founder, John O. Holly, migrated to Cleveland in 1927. On February 11, 1935, he founded the Future Outlook League. He is the undisputed champion of the cause of Black economic opportunity. His was the most effective grassroot labor organization which tore down racial barriers to employment opportunities in the Cleveland area and many other cities in Ohio and Pennsylvania. He popularized the theme "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work".

A main goals outlined in the Constitution of the FOL was to establish, build and preserve all legitimate Black businesses and create employment for Blacks.

At its peak, the FOL obtained employment via picketing and boycotting for over 15,000 Black Clevelander; cut juvenile delinquency by 50 percent renovated over 6,000 houses, and according to its own records had over 20,000 members.

According to the FOL survey in the 1930s, 80 percent of Cleveland's Black population was unemployed. Added to the job discrimination of Black adults, nearly 30,000 youths between the ages of 18-25 (over 90 percent) were unemployed and had no recreational facilities.

With more than 3,000 businesses operating in the Central area of Cleveland's Black community boundaries, fewer than 100 employed Blacks in any capacity. Moreover, the 100 were mainly unskilled jobs and domestic work. For example, there were seven neighborhood theaters in the Central area alone, with no Black employees. The entire transit system employed only one Black person. The banks, the Central Market, retail stores, five-and-dime stores all had no Black employees. There were 35 super markets in the area, and only three Black employees. Blacks were excluded from employment in the utility companies including Ohio Bell Telephone Company. There were no Blacks employed in downtown department stores except for a janitor here and there.

It should be noted that during World Wars I and II Black unemployment in both the skilled and semi-skilled occupations increased and labor conditions for Cleveland Blacks improved, except in clerical, white collar jobs and in unionized trades.

I should add that the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) practiced less discrimination toward Blacks even during this period, and was generally supportive of Black employment participation.

As late as the 1950s, M. C. Clark, founder of Dunbar Life Insurance and Quincy Savings and Loan, attracted national attention, and continued the perception that Clevelanders manifested less racial prejudice than the rest of the country. During these post-war years, Robert Shauter's Shauter Drug Stores employed over 60 workers. Mr. Shauter was a graduate of the Western Reserve Pharmacy. M. C. Clark's Quincy Savings and Loan, Crayton Sausage, and Robert Carter's Auto Dealership on Cedar Avenue are all examples of businesses which flourished at that time.

Since the late 1960s, there have been fragmented attempts to address the economic disparities of Cleveland's Black population, especially after the Hough and Glenville riots, but all of these efforts combined have not solved Cleveland's most vexing challenges.

1970 — Present

During the 1970s; Cleveland's major manufacturing corporations began moving to the suburbs or out of the State. This egress is continuing, and has caused general unemployment. It has been disastrous for the Black working class which has seen it sky-rocket, surpassing national norms. Local Black unemployment remains disproportionately high despite some growth in the service industries and Federal anti-poverty programs.

III. HISTORICAL SURVEY OF "SELF HELP" ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

The earliest efforts to support economic growth within the Black community came from the Black church and fraternal organizations as long ago as the 1850s. Cleveland's Eureka Lodge, with headquarters where the now Terminal Tower now stands, and the Old Fellows, were noted for providing burial insurances and other welfare assistance to their members. As a matter of fact, Cleveland's first insurance company Dunbar Life Insurance, as well as its first financial institution, Empire Savings and Loan, were off-shoots of these early efforts.

Cleveland Board of Trade

The first formal organization for economic advancement was the Cleveland Board of Trade, founded in 1905 by the late J. Walter Wills, owner of Wills Funeral Home, and William S. Dodson who owned a bicycle shop. This organization became affiliated with Booker T. Washington's National Business League which was founded in 1900.

Three years later, in 1908, The Cleveland Association of Colored Men was formed and included entrepreneur and inventor Garrett A. Morgan. This new group wanted the Board of Trade to extend beyond business and economics and include Civil Rights. Membership was broadened to include any Black Clevelander, not just businessmen and professionals. This organization waned in the 1920s, and Cleveland's first Black banker, Herbert S. Chauncey, organized the Cleveland Businessmen's Association around 1925. The Cleveland Businessmen's Association flourished for the most part by his able leadership.

After Mr. Chauncey's death, much of the program was taken over by another Black economic organization, the Progressive Business Alliance, which originated the annual trade shows that attracted as many as 30,000 people. The Progressive Business Alliance was also noted for its business advertising via print media and the radio. Its "Negro Business Hour" was later taken over by the Cleveland Business League which was started in the 1950s by attorney, Frank Lyon.

The Cleveland Business League started out with a dozen members but grew to include over 300 in its heyday. Although The Cleveland Business League continues to exist, its economic and business influence has waned over the last decade as it has suffered from lack of funding. The League is presently housed in the Industrial Transport offices on East 79th and Quincy Avenue. Its economic development arm, MEDCO, folded in 1986, although the Businessmen's Credit

Union still exists.

In the 1960s, three self-help organizations were launched in Cleveland. All three were devoted to economic advancement and entrepreneurship. They were: The Black Economic Union (BEU) formed by football stars Jim Brown and John Wooten; Operation Black Unity (OBU); and, Glenco the nation's first Black owned Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporation (MESBIC).

The Black Economic Union — BEU

The Black Economic Union — BEU was funded by the Ford Foundation and the U. S. Commerce Department's Economic Development Agency. The BEU was started in 1965 and housed at 1276 West Third Street. Its goal was to bring into the inner-city showcase businesses operated by minorities. At its fifth annual membership campaign meeting, the Vice President, John Wooten stated BEU's goals were to launch at least two automobile dealerships and two light manufacturing companies with a national market. In the late 1970s BEU efforts waned and its headquarters was moved to Kansas.

Operation Black Unity

Operation Black Unity was formed in July 1969 as an attempt to coordinate the local Civil Rights groups in the City. At its height, it included over a dozen of the major Civil Rights groups and grassroots organizations including the NAACP, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Domestic Workers of America. The OBU was headed by W. O. Walker, owner of the Call & Post, Dr. Donald Jacobs and Reverend Ealy. Rabbi David Hill was the day-to-day Executive. Its goal was purely economic, and its prime focus was the fast food franchise industry. At the time, there was only one Black owner of a fast food franchise, Chicken Delight, but this was not widely known in the community.

OBU's first test case was centered on McDonald's Restaurants which had five franchises in Black neighborhoods: none was owned by Blacks although all the outlets were managed by Blacks.

In late 1969, the OBU began picketing the restaurants until they closed because of lack of business. Eventually two outlets were sold to the Hough Development Corporation. Charles Johnson opened the first McDonald's in the Mt. Pleasant area of Kinsman early in 1970. The Eddy Road restaurant was purchased by the late Narlie Roberts. The Kinsman East 93rd outlet was purchased by Wilson Rogers and the St. Clair outlet by Ceasar Burkes. Narlie Roberts eventually bought eight restaurants and at the time of his death in 1987, he employed over 600 young people.

As a result of the OBU's economic program, McDonald outlets were opened to Black entrepreneurs throughout the nation. Most of the other fast food franchise chains, including Burger King, became available for minority ownership. In Cleveland alone over a dozen outlets are now owned by Black operators.

In spite of its tumultuous and negative beginnings, and the mysterious death of one of the Black applicants for a franchise, the McDonald chain has become the undisputed leader in terms of equal opportunity for Black entrepreneurship and economic emancipation.

In addition to the fourteen McDonald outlets, operated by Black entrepreneurs, Sam Tidmore had led a one-man crusade for the Burger King chain, Popeyes, Wendy's, a pizza parlor and sub outlet are presently franchising to Black entrepreneurs.

To date, Black fast food franchise owners are the largest employers of Blacks and youths in the city. Franchises owned by Blacks employ over 2000 workers, and serve as a management training school for Black entrepreneurs.

This economic focus started here in Cleveland and spread throughout the nation. Fast food franchise operations have become the Black entrepreneur's number one opportunity for entrepreneurship and business success.

PUBLIC SECTOR ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

Three public sector economic programs for Black Clevelanders were launched during the 1960s.

Cleveland Now

Cleveland Now is a joint public and private initiative created under the leadership of former mayor Carl B. Stokes, in response to the 1968 assassination of the Civil Rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Hough riots. Funding came from public solicitations, business donations, as well as City and state sources.

The goal of Cleveland Now's economic initiative was to raise $1.5 billion over a ten year period. Projects to be funded included economic renewal projects, employment generation proposals, community centers, new housing and health clinics for the inner city.

Unfortunately, public outrage against the program exploded after the Glenville shoot out July 23, 1968. Donations were stopped, except for help with the Community Centers and Health clinics and the programs were never realized.

Council for Economic Opportunities (CEO)

The Council for Equal Opportunities (CEO) was a federal program established in 1964 to coordinate President Lyndon B. Johnson's war on poverty in Cleveland.

The Cleveland CEOs main focus was to provide increased opportunities to the poor. Its first $12 million Grant was allocated to the AKA-operated Job Corp center for Women, a welfare recipients job training program, a part-time youth jobs program, the Head start program, and a community actions.

The Council for Economic Opportunities still exists. Since 1982, federal funding to the CEO has been drastically reduced. However, it continues many of its programs for youth and the poor, and has added home energy assistance and mounts a reputable research department of employment and economic conditions of Cleveland.

Hough Area Development Corporation (HADC)

HADC was formed in 1967. It was an autonomous neighborhood grassroots organization which was funded by the public sector. In its heyday, HADC undertook several major economic programs before losing its funding base, and finally closing around 1984.

HADC built the present Martin Luther King Shopping Plaza located at Crawford Road and Wade Park in 1972. Another HADC project was a manufacturing company, and Community Products. For over a decade, Community Products located on Euclid Avenue, manufactured rubber parts for the auto industry. At its peak, it employed nearly 100 inner-city workers. Cleveland.

HADC also was the pioneer in industrial park development. Elaborate plans were designed for an industrial park on East 55th Street. Much of the industrial park momentum, including the Midtown Corridor, emanates from the early impetus of HADC.

In 1970, HADC purchased two McDonalds restaurants under the corporate Title Ghetto East. Both outlets were sold for want of management expertise.

IV. THE ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN CLEVELAND TODAY

Unfortunately, there is today no economic agenda for the Black community. In contrast to the advancements in politics and religion, Black leadership cannot point to a master plan for increasing Black business ownership and improvements in the economic conditions of Blacks.

The FOL and all of the organizations started in the 1960s are closed. Except for the Council for Economic Opportunities, these agencies closed primarily because of lack of a funding base. Neither the Federal government nor private foundations are funding efforts for Black economic development. A few of the earlier organizations, including the Cleveland Business League and Leon Sullivan's OIC, are struggling for survival, but are devoid of both public and foundation fundings.

Thus, Cleveland is faced with a serious problem concerning the future of Black entrepreneurship and a viable economic agenda.

To make matters worse, the schools are not adequately addressing minority economic issues. Even in the 1950s, the public schools fostered a weekly banking and savings program for its students and Junior Achievement programs were very active. In higher education today, the focus is in the professions and cultural studies, but there are few scholarships for future business owners, economists and financial planners.

In spite of early settlers bright beginnings, there is no spirit nor loyalty to business ownership and entrepreneurship in Cleveland's Black community.

In 1984, a major research study recommended that the Black community focus its attention on entrepreneurship. Few ever read it, and it is collecting dust on a shelf in the library.

The study of economics and business issues is a low priority in our church and

religious institutions. Except for a handful of credit unions of note, there is simply no plan for our future.

In our own neighborhoods, Blacks do not operate businesses for themselves. They depend on others. In ratio to our population, we don't own the businesses that Blacks owned 100 years ago.

For the past decade, both state and nationwide, there has been increased attention focused on the need to promote minority business entrepreneurship. While much of that attention has been focused at the Federal and state level, city and local governments have undertaken programs which contribute to that effort and have had a substantial impact on the availability of qualified minority businesses to perform Federal, state, city, and county government contracts, but it still has not been enough, certainly not here in Cleveland.

In conclusion, the only major generators of capital for entrepreneurship are First Bank National, the Credit Union movement dominated by Antioch Baptist Church Credit Union, (the largest with over $3 million), Mt. Sinai and Shiloh Baptist Church, the recently opened Glenville Market, the Hough Housing Renaissance, and the franchise field. In terms of manufacturing, the field is confined to United Ready Mix, Couch Sausage, Graybar Barrell & Drum Co., and local legislation that provides equal economic opportunities to Black Americans.

Of the 232 municipalities in Ohio, over 20 cities and counties have enacted legislation to foster equal economic opportunities access for Black Americans and other minorities.

V. SUMMARY OF EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY LAWS AND REGULATIONS

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 — an act which legislated equal opportunity in many areas of American life — for the first time required non-discrimination in employment. State and local governments were exempted from coverage under the 1964 Act, and not until the 1972 Amendments to Title XII of the Civil Rights Act, was equal opportunity in local and public employment the law.

Title XII provided affirmative action in the workforce, but no mention was made of equal economic opportunity for minority businesses. Rather this dimension of equal opportunity was developed in piecemeal fashion as Executive Orders, statues and congressional legislation.

A chronology of legislation that supports the present equal economic programs are as follows: Federal laws and promulgations as early as June 1941 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt, by Executive Order No. 8802, required non-discriminatory hiring without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin as part of the national defense effort by Federal agencies in defense related projects.

Although Executive Orders of President Truman and Eisenhower continued this policy of equal employment opportunity in the Federal government, President Kennedy went a step further in Executive Order No 10925 by requiring all

government contracting agencies, not only to include a non-discrimination requirement, but also to require affirmative action provisions in all Federal contracts.

In 1965, President Johnson issued Executive Order No. 11246 and placed responsibility for administering the EEO contracts requirements with the Secretary of Labor with the authority to require contractors to file compliance reports of their practice and policies. This order also gave the Secretary's labor power to cancel or terminate contracts not in compliance. Until the mid 1960s, however, no mention had been made of minority business ownership in any law or Executive Order.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, chaired by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, delineated the causes of the urban riots of the 1960s and produced a lengthy report in March 1968. Encouraging business ownership was one solution suggested by the Kerner report, not only to remedy unemployment, but also to increase minority participation in the national economy. Possibly influenced by the report or civil disorders, President Nixon in 1969 issued Executive Order 11458 establishing a national program for minority business enterprise. Two years later, he issued two additional Executive Orders which applied to all small businesses, but singled out members of minority groups. He ordered the Small Business Administration (SBA) to advise and counsel small business in their dealings with the Federal government agencies.

In 1971, the President's Advisory Council on Minority Business Enterprise issued its report, *Minority Business and Expanded Ownership: Blueprint for the 70s.* The report enumerated eleven recommendations ranging from increased use by the private sector of minority firms to a substantial Federal resource commitment for financial assistance and educational programs. The report noted that time was of the essence: "If the United States is to achieve an open society in which every citizen is a full participant, a national effort must be made to telescope the process of economic development." The alternative is a continuation of the profound alienation of America's minorities from the nation's economic and social systems with unfortunate consequences for all Americans.

A few months after the release of this report, President Nixon issued another Executive Order No 11625 which gave the Secretary of Commerce new power to participate with Federal agencies in the development of comprehensive plans and specific program goals for the minority enterprise program. It also required the head of each Federal department and agency to comply.

Meanwhile, the SBA took steps of its own to assist small minority owned businesses. In 1958, Congress had enacted the Small Business Act which had established the SBA and provided for loans, technical and managerial assistance, resource centers, and also created the 8(a) program. This program enabled the SBA to enter into contracts with Federal agencies and to subcontract the work to qualified small businesses. In 1970, the SBA promulgated regulations that converted this general small business program to one that benefitted minority firms most exclusively. The language adopted interpreted the 8(a) program

as one "to assist small concerns owned by disadvantaged persons to become self-sufficient, viable businesses capable of competing effectively in the market place." It limited eligibility under the program to small business "owned or operated by the applying person." The regulation recognized that this requirement often includes, but is not restricted to Black Americans, American Indians, Spanish Americans, Oriental Americans, Eskimos and Aleuts.

A legal challenge to the new regulations failed, and the regulations were implemented in such a way that by 1977 the firms participating in the 8(a) program were overwhelmingly minority firms. Congress, in 1977, acted for the first time on the issue of contract set-asides for minority businesses. The Public Works Employment Act of 1977 provided for a 10 percent minority business set-aside. It was introduced as an Amendment during debate of the Bill in the House of Representatives by Representative Parren Mitchell and in the Senate by Senator Brookes. In 1978, Congress enacted Public Law No 95-507, in part to amend the Section 8(a) program to conform to the SBA regulations that had transformed the general small business set-aside program into a minority small business set-aside program. This empowers the Small Business Administration to enter into procurement or construction contracts with Federal agencies and to arrange for the performance of these contracts by subcontracting to "socially and economically disadvantaged small business concerns."

Public Law No. 95-507 also required Federal departments and agencies, after consultation with the SBA, to establish annual goals for the participation by small and small disadvantaged businesses in procurement contracts. In addition, the 8(d) subcontracting program requires contractors to submit subcontracting plans setting percentage goals for the utilization as subcontractors of small and small disadvantaged businesses. Failure to negotiate the subcontracting plan makes the offer ineligible to be awarded the contract.

Surface Transportation Assistance Act 1982

Congress' most recent venture in the minority business arena was passage of the Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982, and its renewal in 1987 which contains this provision:

> Except to the extent that the Secretary determines otherwise, not less than 10 percent of the amounts authorized to be appropriated under this Act shall be expended with small business concerns owned and controlled by socially and economically disadvantaged individuals as defined by Section 8(d) of the Small Business Act.

Business Development Centers

President Reagan issued Executive Order No. 12432, which established one hundred "One Stop" Minority Business Development Centers and also, designated the first week in October as Minority Enterprise Development Week.

The most recent Federal initiative on minority businesses is President Reagan's

Executive Order of July 14, 1983 requiring each Federal agency to produce minority business development plans establishing objectives and methods for encouraging prime contractors and grantees to utilize minority business enterprises (MBE). The order also requires the Secretary of Commerce and the Administrator of the SBA to establish uniform guidelines for all agencies. The Executive Order places on each Federal agency the responsibility to establish assistance programs, develop incentive techniques to encourage greater minority business subcontracting by Federal contractors, and encourage recipients of Federal grants to achieve a reasonable minority business participation. The Executive Order followed a December, 1982 statement in which President Reagan announced "additional steps to promote an economic environment in which minority entrepreneurs can better marshall their talents and skills to achieve better lives for themselves and, in so doing, contribute to a strong economic base for America." In the statement, the President directed Federal contracting agencies to increase minority business procurement objectives by FY '83 by at least ten percent (10%) over the previous year's objectives, and called on the agencies to procure $15 billion in goods and services from minority businesses during FYs 1983, 1984 and 1985 and the establishment of 60,000 new minority businesses.

State House Bill 584

The enactment of House Bill 584 by the Ohio Legislature in December, 1980 fostered an expanded era of minority business entrepreneurship in the State of Ohio and the City of Cleveland. The overall goal of this legislation was to provide long-term economic and social benefits to minority communities and thereby the overall business community.

A major provision of House Bill 584 was the requirement that all State agencies including Ohio's universities, set-aside 5 percent of the aggregate dollar value of its construction projects and 15 percent of its purchase of goods and services for award to certified MBEs. The administration and implementation of the program is the combined responsibility of the Department of Administrative Services and the Department of Development.

House Bill 584 established a Board, the Minority Development Financing Commission, to provide loan and bonding assistance for minority business enterprises; expand and codified the responsibilities of the Minority Business Development Division, in the Ohio Department of Development; defined for the first time in permanent law the types of companies which could be considered "Minority Business Enterprise"; and, establish within the Department of Administrative Services the responsibility to certify legitimate Minority Business Enterprises under the purview of the law.

Local Legislation

Of the 222 municipalities, in Ohio, only 15 have formal Minority Business Enterprise programs that address the needs of Black and minority economic

participation in the public sector.

For the most part, with only two or three exceptions, these more formalized programs are understaffed and under funded. Neither do they come close to meeting the written goals established. There is certainly not enough staff to monitor these goals, nor the workforce requirements.

In the Cleveland SMA, twelve formalized programs are in operation including the State of Ohio. Two public sector agencies have no MBE formalized program nor legislation for implementing a program.

These agencies with legislation and formalized programs are as follows:

1. City of Cleveland
2. Cleveland Board of Education
3. Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA)
4. Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA)
5. Cleveland State University (CSU)
6. Cuyahoga Community College (CCC)
7. Cuyahoga County
8. Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District
9. Ohio Turnpike Commission
10. Small Business Administration (SBA)
11. State of Ohio (Administrative Services)
12. State of Ohio (Department of Transportation)

These twelve programs are governed by an Ordinance or Resolution, and certify minority firms for participation in public sector contracting.

VI. EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Equal economic opportunity in the public sector is a recent phenomena. In the context of business ownership and contracts opportunity, this initiative is barely ten years old. Local efforts began in the late 1970s and was not formalized until the early 1980s.

The Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority launched the first formal Minority Business Enterprise (MBE) program in 1977 that included contracting goods, workforce goals, and a certification process for registering minority-owned firms.

The City of Cleveland was the second public sector agency to mobilize a formalized MBE program in 1980. The Mayor's Office of Equal Opportunity was established in 1980, and two years later added the first Minority Business Development Center (MBDC) in the United States operated by a city government.

In reality, Cuyahoga County, although starting behind the City, passed its MBE Resolution in 1982, the City of Cleveland's Ordinance having been passed in March, 1983.

The Cleveland Board of Education formalized its program in 1984. Other public sector agency programs followed suit generally from the period of 1980 to 1984.

Each of these programs have established contracting goals and workforce goals.

There are no minority set-aside programs in the Cleveland SMSA. The public sector agencies' MBE goals are as follows:

There are other federal and public sector agencies which provide some minority assistance, but the agencies listed have formalized programs, are governed by Ordinances and/or official Resolutions and provide certification services in behalf of minority vendors.

Figure 1
PUBLIC SECTOR AGENCIES
CLEVELAND AREA ANNUAL PERFORMANCE GOALS

AGENCIES		CONSTRUCTION	PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	SERVICES	SUPPLIES
Cleveland Board of Education	1	20%		10%	15%
[1]Cleveland, City of	2	30%	30%	20%	20%
Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority	3	20%		20%	20%
Cleveland State University (CSU)	4	5%	(see services)	15%	15%
Cuyahoga Community College (CCC)	5	10%	(see services)	15%	15%
Cuyahoga County	6	25%	15%	15%	15%
Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority	7	20%		20%	15%
[2]Metropolitan Parks	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District	9	10-15%	10-15%		
Ohio Turnpike	10				
[3]S B A (8A)	11				
[4]State of Ohio (584)	12	5%	(see services)	15%	15%
STATE-ODOT	13	10%	10%	10%	10%

[1] Concessions = 15%
[2] At present, no program now under development
[3] 100% Set-Aside
[4] Goods and Services combined 15%. Not 15% each category.

Figure 2
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (1986)
*** SELECTED STATE OF OHIO**
MINORITY FIRMS

SMSA	#FIRMS	GROSS RECEIPTS
AKRON	706	$ 14,334,000
CANTON	304	8,972,000
CINCINNATI	2,019	59,007,000
CLEVELAND	4,199	194,330,000
COLUMBUS	1,930	55,789,000
DAYTON	1,356	35,290,000
HAMILTON-MIDDLETOWN	160	8,678,000
LIMA	104	2,161,000
LORAIN-ELYRIA	230	7,696,000
MANSFIELD	120	4,101,000
SPRINGFIELD	188	3,494,000
TOLEDO	850	24,602,000
YOUNGSTOWN-WARREN	523	18,286,000
TOTALS	**12,689**	**$437,013,000**

*U.S DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE – BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

LOCAL LEGISLATION

Of the 226 municipalities in Ohio, only 15 have formal Minority Business Enterprise programs that address the needs of Black and minority economic participation in the public sector.

For the most part, with only two or three exceptions, these more formalized programs are understaffed and underfunded. The goals actually achieved fell significantly below the written goals established for these programs. There is for certain, not enough staff to monitor these goals, not the workforce to fulfill the requirements.

The State of Ohio conducted a survey of minority business enterprises throughout the State in 1986, and published its findings. (See Fig. 2).

Contract awards to minority business enterprises were $205 million in 1987 and $222 million in 1988. The City of Cleveland generates the largest amount of contract dollars to minority firms. Contract amounts to minority enterprises exceeded $86 million, including female-owned firms, in 1988.

The City of Cleveland's performance in all contracts areas is higher than other agencies. For example, its percentage goals were 38 percent of all contracts. The average for other agencies is less than 15 percent of goods and services contracted to minority enterprises (See Contract Awards Table).

It should be noted, however, that the public sector contract amounts for fiscal year 1988 are larger than Cleveland's gross receipts for all 2,977 minority businesses in 1977. Minority-owned businesses accounted for $139,844 (1977 census) prior to the inception of these programs. This amount is a combination of **both** the private and public sectors.

According to the 1977 census reported only 276 minority-owned construction firms in Cuyahoga County. Since the advent of the MBE programs, there are now over 500 certified MBE firms.

There are other public sector programs that have provided assistance to Black Clevelanders and Black business owners.

Other Public Sector Programs Providing Assistance to Black Business Owners

The two minor programs administered by the City of Cleveland are the Community Development Block Grant program and the City and Credit Union joint-venture.

The Community Development Block Grant program, funded at $26 million for 1988, provided over $3.5 million in contracts, or 32 percent of contracting dollars, to minority firms. In both areas of demolition contracts and housing rehabilitation, almost 50 percent of the contractors employed by the City over the past eight years were Black entrepreneurs.

The City's Community Development Department spearheaded the City and Credit Union's joint venture in 1983 to provide revolving loans to minority firms holding contracts with the City. This Department also piloted the use of minority contractors as the **prime** contractors on neighborhood sidewalk projects beginning in 1984. Before that time, only one Black contractor, Ozanne Construction, had ever held a prime contract with the City for City sidewalk work.

The City of Cleveland, Economic Development, has also administered Federal programs which provided up to one-half of the contracts to minority firms. In addition, this Department administers the City's business loan program. The Department administers six loan programs including the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) programs. In terms of UDAG grants, three Black business entities have received grants. They are Vel's-on-the-Circle, Eliza Bryant

Nursing Home and Watson's Funeral Home.

Before 1980, no loans were granted to Black business firms. Since 1980, sixteen loans were granted to Black business firms for a total of $2,671,931.

In addition, new jobs for minorities were generated.

Other City departments have reached high performance goals but only the Economic Development Department provides loans to small businesses that include Black firms.

It should be noted that the City of Cleveland is one of the few cities in the United States which has concessions at airports, public parks and buildings owned and operated my minorities. Four Black entrepreneurs operate concessions at the airport, and two operate golf courses or golf course concessions. In addition, a Black entrepreneur operates a food service in the Convention Center.

The only other public sector source that has provided funds to Black entrepreneurs has been the Industrial Revenue Bonds program (IRB). Since 1980 three Black firms have received IRBs. This is less than 2 percent of the 173 IRBs approved since 1980, but this funding source is a significant factor for promoting economic growth and expansion by businesses owned by minorities.

In terms of financial assistance provided to minority business enterprises in the Cleveland area, the State of Ohio has developed five major funding initiatives. This includes a special program for Minority Business Assistance as part of its 584 MBE set-aside legislation.

Minority Development Financing Commission

The Minority Development Financing Program is operated by the Minority Development Financing Commission. This commission helps finance minority business expansion in two ways: through direct loans and through construction bonds. A nine-member commission reviews applications each month.

Direct Loans

Direct loans are granted to finance up to 40 percent (or $200,000, whichever is less) of an eligible project for an eligible company. Eligible projects are purchased and/or improvement of fixed assets such as land, buildings, equipment and machinery. To be eligible a company must:

- be at least 50 percent owned and controlled by a minority group or individual for at least one year; or individual for at least one year;
- be owned by United States citizens residing in Ohio; and,
- be certified by Ohio's Equal Opportunity Coordinator.

Construction Bonds

The Minority Development Financing Commission can issue up to $1 million in construction bonds to a minority business.

A case study of these affirmative action programs, especially using the City

of Cleveland Model, is an excellent example of the benefits of anti-discrimination efforts by public policy.

For example, before the City of Cleveland's Minority Business Enterprise Program was launched in 1979, there were only thirty-seven minority businesses on a roster — less than fifteen were registered to do business with the City of Cleveland. Out of a total of over $100 million in contracts let, these minority firms received only $1.6 million in public sector contracts combined and these were all subcontracts. There was no loan assistance, and only one minority firm had ever held a City-owned concession franchise.

In 1988, with the assistance of the Minority Business Enterprise program, and an enlightened leadership, over 600 minorities and women are certified with the City, and were awarded in excess of $86 million in City contracts out of a total of $224 million incontract awards let by the City.

Minority Business Enterprises are able to bid on and receive prime contracts in sidewalk repair, and other areas including professional services. Close to twenty minority enterprises held contracts totaling over $1 million with the City in 1988. The largest minority contract exceeded $6 million in total contract dollars.

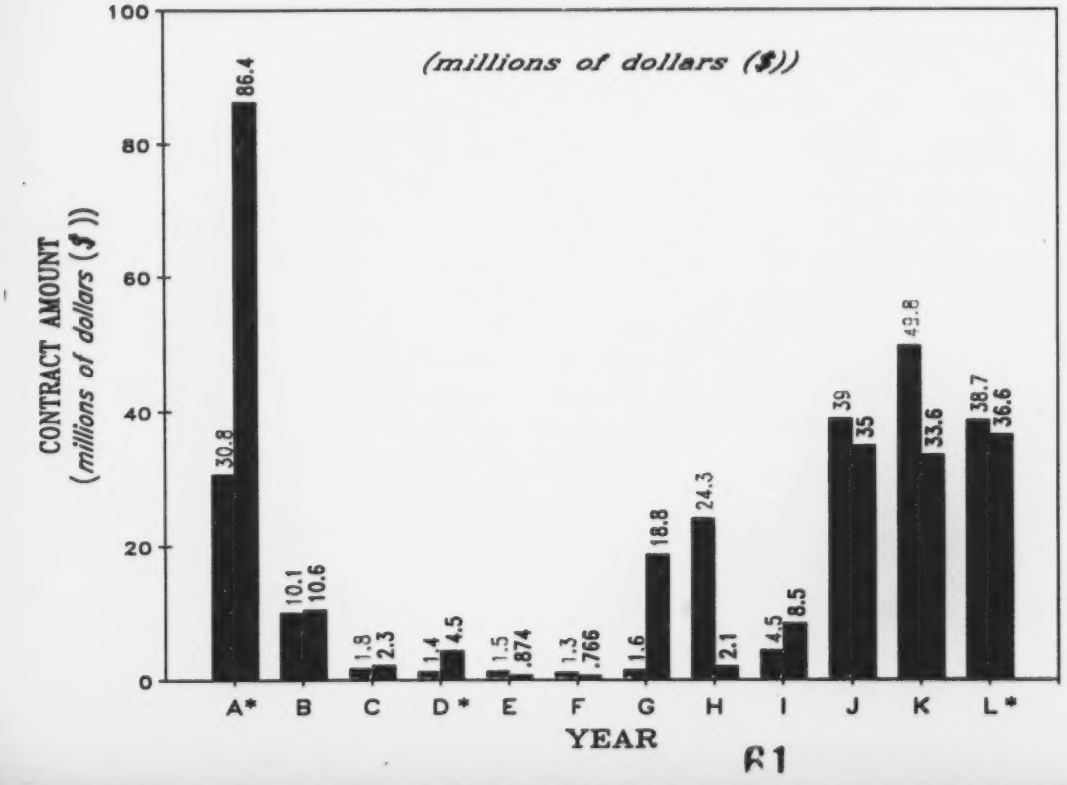
In addition, the City's U.S. Commerce MBDA-funded Business Development Center assisted 261 firms with loans and performance bonds for a total of $101.8 million since 1982. Eight minority firms received over $8 million in business loans in 1988.

The City's Economic Development Department has assisted fifteen minority firms with business loans for a total of $2.7 million since 1982.

The following tables form a chronological history of the growth of minority business participation with the City since the advent of the Minority Business Enterprise Program.

GREATER CLEVELAND

CONTRACTS AWARDED TO MBE
PERIOD: Fiscal Years 1987 and 1988



A. City of Cleveland
B. Cleveland Board of Education
C. CMHA
D. Cleveland RTA
E. Cleveland State University (CSU)
F. Cuyahoga Community College (CCC)
G. Cuyahoga County
H. Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District
I. Ohio Turnpike Commission
J. Small Business Administration (SBA)
K. Ohio (Administrative Services)
L. Ohio - Dept of Transportation (ODOT)

Rounded estimates (unaudited)

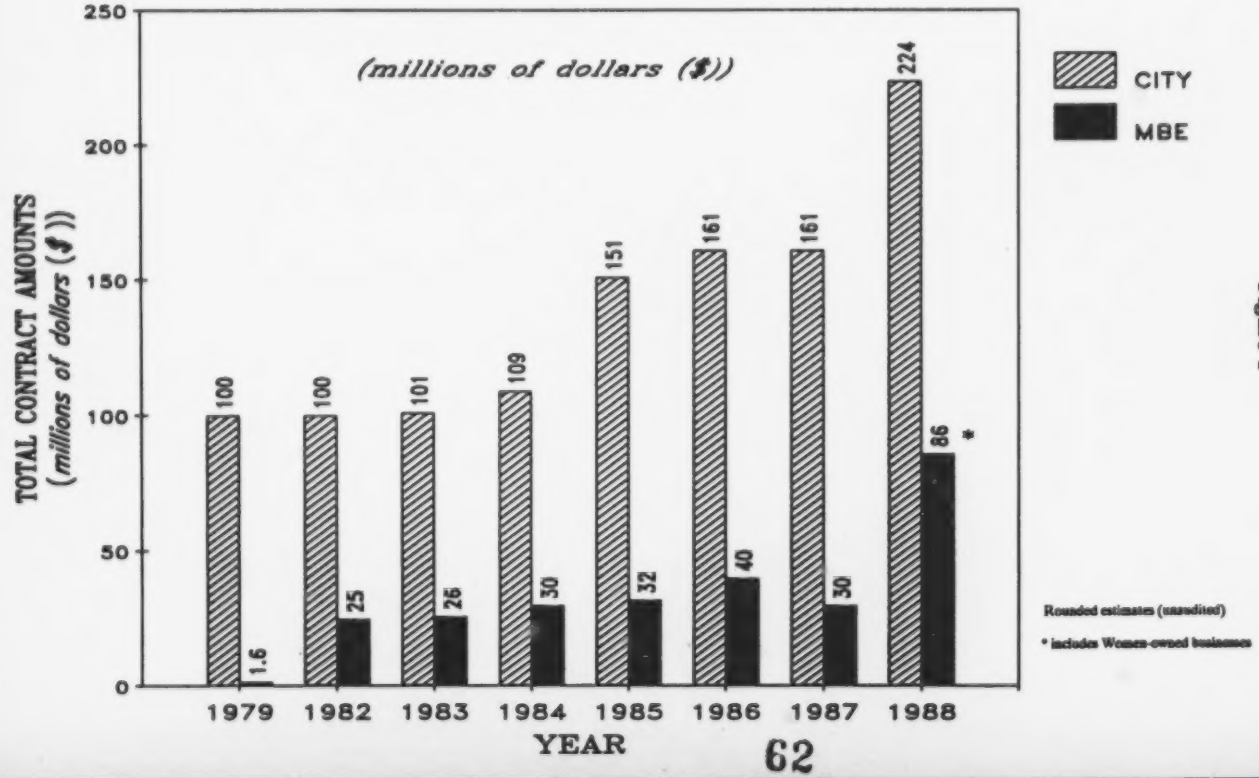
* includes Women-owned businesses

Figure 3

CITY OF CLEVELAND DEPARTMENTS

TOTAL CONTRACT AMOUNTS

PERIOD: 1979-1988



Rounded estimates (unaudited)

* Includes Women-owned businesses

Figure 4

Figure 5

MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE SUMMARY
PERIOD: 1982-1988
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (City of Clevleand)
MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTER

I. CLIENTS ASSISTED	2,906
II. NEW STARTS	401
III. CONTRACTS	2,496
IV. CONTRACT DOLLAR AMOUNTS	$309,111,417
V. LOANS (NUMBER)	261
VI. DOLLAR AMOUNT (LOANS)	$101,763,512

City of Cleveland
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CENTER

PROGRAM SOURCE	LOANS ISSUED	FUNDING NEW JOBS	MINORITY
EDA	$385,931	42	20
SBA	63,000	4	4
SBRLF	110,000	24	18
UDAG	2,113,000	55	54
TOTAL	**$2,671,931**	**125**	**96**

EDA Economic Development Administration
SBA Small Business Administration
SBRLF Small Business Revolving Loan Funds
URDAG Urban Development Action Grant

City of Cleveland
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE &
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CENTER
TOTAL AMOUNT OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
U.S. Dept. of Commerce = $309, 11,417
Economic Development Center = $2,671,931
TOTAL = $311,783,348

CITY of CLEVELAND

NUMBER OF CAPABLE/CERTIFIED FIRMS

BLACK-OWNED BUSINESSES (generated via MBE program)

PERIOD: 1979-1988

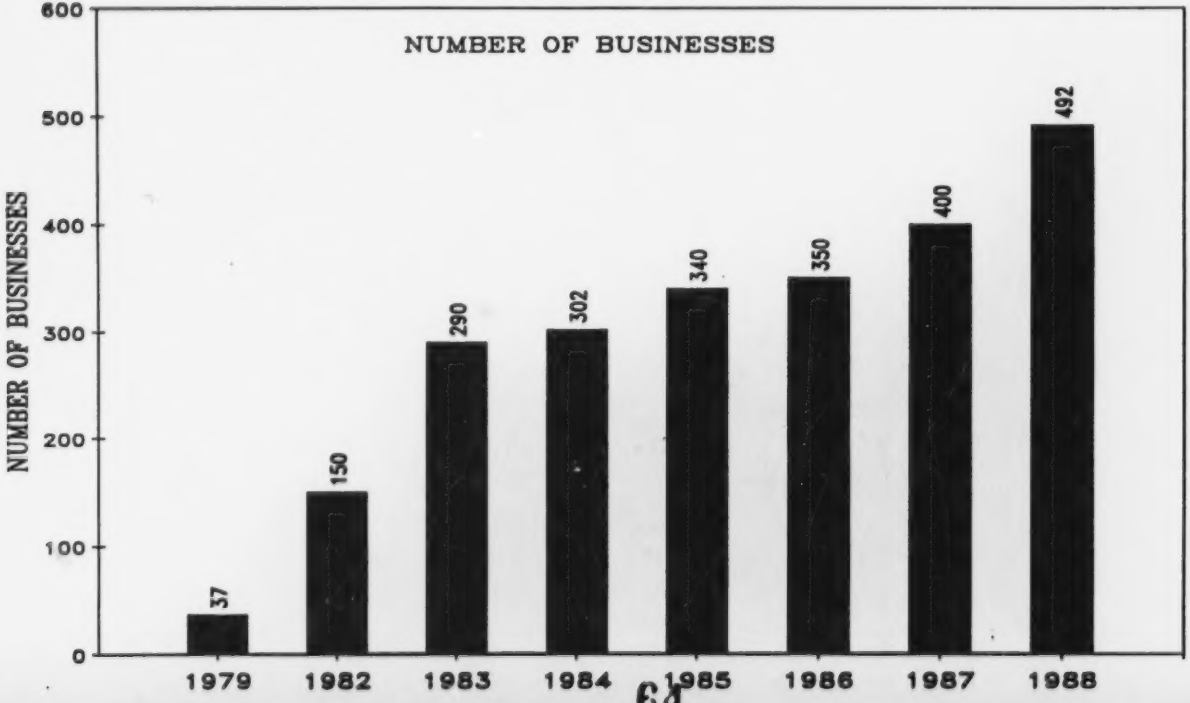


Figure 6

VII. CONCLUSION

Until the 1960s, business ownership by Black Americans was not considered a tool for equal economic opportunity within the Black community, here or nationwide. Notwithstanding, early Black settlers of the nineteenth century, in Cleveland, flourished as entrepreneurs with a minimum of opposition.

An impressive expansion of Black-owned businesses took place from 1863 to 1913, especially after Booker T. Washington launched the National Business League in 1900. The number of businesses increased from 2000 in 1865 to 40,000 in 1915.

Census data for the period from 1969 to 1972 also showed a growth or businesses owned by Black Americans but the proportion of Black-owned firms remains very small, only 2.7 percent of the total number of firms. Also, Black-owned firms continue to be concentrated in a few industry groups. In addition, 50 percent of these firms were located in the South. Since 1969, the greatest percentage of firms are found in the West and Northeast

The growth rate of businesses owned by minorities is one of the lowest in the nation. Self-employment is 49 per 1000, but for Blacks it is 14 per 1000. Cleveland ranks 32 nationally, with only 3,992 businesses owned by Blacks. The Black population is 345,646 in Greater Cleveland area, or 18 percent, with a Black business rate of 11.5 per 1000.

The growth and vitality of businesses owned by Black Americans in Cleveland are inextricably tied to anti-discrimination efforts. Beyond the advent of the current affirmative policy less than fifty minority-owned firms were awarded public sector contracts annually, and these operated in less than twenty of the City's major classifications of purchase. Since 1977, over 600 have been certified for doing business in the public sector in over fifty of the 130 major classifications of purchases.

Census figures for 1977 show that there were 2,770 minority-owned businesses in Cleveland with gross receipts of only $139,844,000. The 1988 gross receipts for the public sector alone exceeded $222 million and these firms provide employment for 10,000 workers. In addition, over twenty-five of these minority firms are awarded over $1 million annually in public sector contracts and each engage up to one hundred employees.

A review of the nature and scope of equal economic opportunity shows that we are still faced with a legacy of institutional racism and discrimination that was consciously developed over many years. The effect of this will be minimized only by pursuing well thought-out anti-discrimination efforts in public policy. This is a challenge, but the responsibility is clear.

To quote from Dr. Carter G. Woodson: "For 300 years, Blacks have had the special attention of exclusion. Now they should have at least a generation of special attention of inclusion."

In the words of the former Urban League President, Whitney M. Young: "Our (presence) will not weaken America, but strengthen it, not corrupt it, but

purify it, not divide it, but unify it."

RATING OHIO'S BLACK BUSINESSES
VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following problems are serious barriers to Blacks in Cleveland as they work to become an equal partners in the production and distribution of goods and services

1. ***Bid and Performance Bonding Requirements for Public Contracting***
   Only the State of Ohio offers a Bond Guarantee Program and it cannot be used on certain Federal projects.
2. ***Business Loans and Working Capital***
   All loans identified, herein, are for fixed capital and do not provide for working capital. There are no public sector loan programs tied to contracts. Cleveland needs a Banking Consortium Program patterned after the Akron Model or/and the Maryland Equity Program.
3. ***Certification***
   There are more than one hundred certification agencies in Ohio and over twenty-five in the City of Cleveland. Black owned firms must be certified with each governmental agency separately. There is no reciprocity.
4. ***Contract Opportunities***
   Black-owned firms participation is less than thirty of the over 130 product and service areas. There are no major manufacturers. One of the major items needed in the public sector are vehicles, yet there is no Black owned dealership in Cleveland to take advantage of potential opportunities. In addition, there are no licensed distributors of supplies. Since the advent of the public sector and anti-discrimination efforts, there is now one ready mix concrete plant owned by a minority, but none in the asphalt or other supply areas. Black firms will always remain at a disadvantage as long as they are mere brokers.
5. ***Lack of Federal Assistance from Loan and Federal Agencies***
   Except for the SBA 8(a) programs and the U.S. Post Office, Black entrepreneurs receive minuscule contracts from the Federal government, although Cleveland is designated a distressed area with a labor surplus. At one time, the twenty or more Federal agencies operated a Minority Business Opportunities Committee (MBOC) at the Federal Executive Board level. This Committee has not functioned since 1980 with any regularity.
6. ***Lack of Clearinghouses***
   Except for the City of Cleveland's operated Minority Business Development Center, there is no well-defined clearinghouse where minority business owners may receive complete information germane to their business opportunities and development.

Business and technical service are fragmented. There are over thirty programs in the Cleveland SMSA, but their service is fragmented, others duplicated and often devoid of necessary follow-through and synergism.

7. ***Research and Development***
   Except for the County supported study on under-utilization industries in the Cleveland area, there is no hard research to enable minority entrepreneurs to make intelligent choices on the types of businesses to enter. Moreover, most agencies are not able to indicate the number and amounts of contracts to Black firms and other minorities. Historical data is not available to adequately measure progress in the area. Too many agencies are more concerned with "policing" than with really assisting minority firms to develop and expand.

   At one time, the U.S. Department of Commerce provided funds for specialized services to assist minority firms in acquisitions and manufacturing. This stopped in 1985. Local foundations could regenerate this initiative.

8. ***Lack of Joint Venturing and Synergism***
   In the last 1960s, Sweeney and Ware began a joint-venture plumbing business. There are few lasting joint-ventures that last beyond a single contract. Other ethnic groups have made ample use of this business configuration; consequently, they have emerged as nationwide construction management and business teams. This has not occurred with Black entrepreneurs.

9. ***Professional Service Field and Public Sector Concessions***
   Black owned businesses and other minorities were locked out of the Professional Service field and public sector concessions. Except for Fleet Slaughter's Golf Cart Concessions in the early 1970s, no Black business entrepreneur operated concessions with the City. Under the City's MBE Ordinance, Black entrepreneurs operate security concessions, food concessions, car rental service, floral services and golf course concessions in the City of Cleveland. There is no counterpart in other public sector agencies.

10. ***Education***
    There is no formalized accredited college program for minority business development administrators. They offer excellent seminars to minority businesses but there is no program for leaders of minority business programs.

11. ***Economic Development***
    An Economic Black Agenda is not the only issue. Minorities must be more concerned and involved up front in the overall economic development plans of the area. The Minority Agenda should be "Inclusion."

12. ***Incubators and Entrepreneurship***
    The growth rate for minority business is far below the national average. Only 400 minority businesses were started by the Cleveland MBDC over a six year period. There is a need for an increase in the number of small businesses owned by minorities. All efforts including the franchise field should be fostered.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

In terms of the current economic status of Blacks in Cleveland there are a significant number of constants requisite for future assumptions:

- Early Black settlers of the 19th Century launched business enterprises at a higher ratio and with relative ease.
- The economic status of Black Cleveland Entrepreneurs eroded specially after 1915.
- Of the two hundred and twenty-two incorporated cities in Ohio, only fifteen have formalized anti-discrimination programs.
- The formation and growth of Black businesses in Cleveland are lowest in Ohio, in relation to population, and one of the lowest in the nation.
- The viable grassroot anti-discrimination program of the 1960s and early 1970s for the most part no longer exists.
- The paucity of tailor-made capital assistance for minority businesses for the most part no longer exists.
- The Franchise Industry has been the better model for assuring minority enterprise success and growth for the past twenty years.
- Anti-discrimination efforts in the public sector has been a major factor for minority business enterprise formation and growth over the past ten years.
- Except for the Cuyahoga County Business Survey, and the United Black Fund Community Assessment, there is not enough hard research data to provide unbridled choices for minority business ownership in Cleveland.
- Economic opportunities for Black enterprises are still restricted to a segregated market and mainly the service area. There is no economic agenda for increasing business formation in the manufacturing and wholesale trade.
- The City of Cleveland awarded over $84 million to minorities and women in 1988. This amount is 38 percent of the City's total purchase. Moreover, this is the largest contract amount for any public sector agency in Ohio. Spending this amount represents over 35 percent of all public sector opportunities in the Cleveland SMSA. It is probably obvious that the City model has implications for replication as we attempt to identify the economic generators for the future.

REFERENCES AND FOOTNOTES

John Malvin, *Autobiography*, (Cleveland Leader, 1979).

Booker T. Tall, *Who's Who in Black Americans in Cleveland*, (Aaron Press, 1978).

Russell Davis, *Black Americans in Cleveland*, (Associated Publishers, Washington, D.C., 1972)

Hattie M. Bicknore, *Successful Minority Entrepreneurs*, U.S. Department of Commerce Minority Business Development Agency, 1987.

Laurie Tall, *EEO Laws and The City of Cleveland*, 1980.

Andrew F. Brimmer, *The Economic Position of Black Americans*, 1976, Washington, D.C., pp. 25-28.

Harry Alexander, Disadvantaged Business Enterprise Women Business Enterprise Program for the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority, Revised, 1985.

City of Cleveland Ordinance, No. 1065-A-82, March 6, 1983.

Survey MBE Firms, State of Ohio, 1986.

An Assessment of The Cleveland Urban Area Market, (Council for Economic Action, Inc., Boston, MA., 1987)

The Politics of Progress

By City Council President George L. Forbes

If you ask the average person what he thinks of politics, or worse yet, what he thinks of politicians, it is unlikely you will get a lukewarm response.

Most people have very strong opinions, and generally negative ones. I should know. After twenty-six years as a local elected official, I've heard it all. "Politics is a dirty profession." "Most politicians are crooks." "They only care about themselves." You frequently hear these comments in cabs; at bars; after the building inspector visits; when the Mayor cuts a ribbon for the benefit of the cameras; or when a policeman fails to arrive after the third call.

Are there problems with the system? Do some politicians abuse our trust? Does the politician really not give a damn? In some cases, there's no question about it. Politics has flaws and disappointments like every other human endeavor.

In spite of its deficiencies, the paramount question, particularly for Black people, is: can we afford to shun politicians, write off politics, quit voting, and dismiss government service?

Now, that might seem like an odd question from a Black politician in a city like Cleveland that has a history of inequality and is still deeply divided by racism and discrimination which erect very real barriers to Black economic, social, educational and political involvement.

This is however, the major distinction in government today. It separates George Bush from Michael Dukakis and Ronald Reagan from Jesse Jackson. One side tells the Black community: politics just wastes your time, because, "...what you see, is what you get;" Black unemployment will remain three times the rate for Whites because, "Blacks really don't want to work"; Black kids are destined to a cycle of poverty because, "No more money can be set aside for college assistance"; there will always be places in America where Black families are not welcome because, "Government can't legislate morality"; Black neighborhoods will never stabilize, because the devastation and violence of drugs is a "local problem".

The other side says that things can be better; there are solutions to inequalities and injustices that continue to afflict Black America today; change can be accelerated; and government can help people accomplish what they cannot do alone.

I want to offer observations from my twenty-six year career to demonstrate why politics does deserve our attention, and how, if we understand politics, it can from time-to-time achieve lofty goals.

I was born in Memphis, Tennessee in 1931, the youngest of nine children. Like

many Blacks, my earliest and most important lessons were given by my mother, who instilled in me a confidence that, with God's help, I really could be whatever I wanted to be.

So when I came to Cleveland in 1953, it was with a sense of youthful energy, expectation and hope. No, in reality Cleveland was not much better than Memphis as it pertained to the treatment of Black people. But with a new marriage, children, success in college and law school, the emergence of Civil Rights on our national agenda, and Martin Luther King, Jr., my outlook was bold. When elected Councilman of the 27th Ward in 1963, I was ready to change the world.

However, as in Marine Corps boot camp, I soon learned important lessons. The devastating Hough riots of 1966 were my first teachers. They taught me that while Blacks, like American Indians, might win a battle, they would always lose the war if they relied on cataclysmic events to alter history.

As Dr. King once said, "A final victory is an accumulation of many short-term encounters. To lightly dismiss a success because it does not usher in a complete order of justice is to fail to comprehend the process of achieving a full victory. It underestimates the value of confrontation and dissolves the confidence born of a partial victory by which new efforts are powered."

Hough further taught me that Blacks in America, like their brothers and sisters in South Africa would always be disappointed or worse, double-crossed, if they relied on world opinion, personal morality, religion, or even law *alone* to effect change. No matter how right the cause, or how good your intentions, democracy by definition, occasionally allows and enables the worst elements of society to govern. It was at that point I determined that I would learn to understand the "system".

This too, was consistent with what Dr. King was saying at the time. "We must," he said, "become political activists. We must be guided in this direction because we need political strength more desperately than any other group in American society. Most of us are too poor to have adequate economic power, and many of us are too rejected by the culture to be part of any tradition of power. Necessity will draw us toward the power inherent in the creative uses of politics."

The first successful application of "creative politics" occurred in Cleveland in 1965. In an historic bid to become the first Black mayor of a major American city, Carl B. Stokes, was narrowly defeated by incumbent Mayor Ralph S. Locher. However, two years later, this barrier too would be forever destroyed. For despite being heavily out spent by his well-known Republican opponent, in 1967, Carl Stokes was elected by a margin of 2,679 votes. A change of little more than one vote in each precinct would have reversed the outcome.

At this time, I must admit I was more than a casual observer. I was in fact on the campaign team. Nevertheless, the election of Carl Stokes truly introduced Cleveland's Black community to a new age and into a recognition of its true potential power and an appreciation of the capacity of Black institutions, particularly the Black Church, to be forces for positive social change.

Do we as a community today, understand what took place? The passage of time

and the benefit of experience, reveal to me that some very clear prerequisites were present which gave our community the "power" to elect a Black mayor.

The first was unity. At the time, City Council was composed of thirty-three members, and *all* of its eleven Blacks were committed to Carl's candidacy. Second, we were so focused on the issues brought to the fore by the riots and Dr. King, that personal differences among our leaders were minimized, and personal ambitions, even mine to run for Congress, did not get in the way. Finally, we didn't leave our destiny to someone else. Not just those with title or position, but individuals, men and women of our community went forward in a very public way, and were prepared to risk the little we had previously achieved in favor of the greater goal. No election since has even come close to drawing the number of Black votes cast for Mayor in 1967.

Consider the next time that our community really came together in a public way. Again, I was more than a bystander, but when you look carefully at the outcome, the same characteristics are apparent.

In 1973, I became President of City Council. By 1976, the number of Blacks had increased to thirteen, two more than the eleven in office when Carl Stokes was elected. In 1977, as a result of an investigation by the County Prosecutor, seven past and present councilmen, six of whom were Black, including myself, were indicted on a variety of charges alleging mishandled money at neighborhood carnivals.

October 3, 1978, I must then recognize as my second political teacher, for then, I truly learned how high political stakes can get, and how much of an impact the Black community could have upon City Hall, the media, the business community and yes, even the justice system. On that evening, in excess of 2,000 Black people filled City Hall. With the full and unified support of Congressman Louis Stokes, Call and Post Publisher W.O. Walker, the community's most well-known church leaders, and virtually every other local Black elected official, a defense fund was established to assist in the coming legal battle. But more significant, once again, we were in public, together, and focused on an issue that eclipsed the personalities involved.

If you look at Black leadership nationwide during the same period, you find the challenge that confronted us was not uncommon. In any case, all charges were eventually dropped, but not until the Black community had again made its presence and power well-known.

In subsequent years, additional examples of the exercise of Black power have come more frequently. I can honestly say that while I have been involved in these events, contrary to the general opinion, I have not been their architect. At best, I have been a catalyst, focusing our community's power in the support of common objectives.

Ronald Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court to replace the moderate Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., is another excellent illustration. Bork's judicial record showed blanket opposition to public accommodations, open housing, and affirmative action, while revealing arguments in favor of

poll taxes, racially restrictive covenants, and literacy tests among other repugnant Civil Rights positions.

The response of Cleveland's Black community was not only instantaneous, but again demonstrated its untapped potential. On October 1, 1987, fifty-nine Clevelanders travelled at their own expense to Washington, D.C., to meet with the Ohio Congressional delegation and extend support to at least fifteen other Congressmen opposed to the nomination. Less than a month later, Robert Bork's nomination was overwhelmingly defeated.

How did the meeting come about? Who was included? Did it really make a difference? It began with a simple conversation between Congressman Louis Stokes and myself, where he indicated the depth of his concern and expressed willingness to host a luncheon.

Ten days later, thirteen businessmen, thirteen pastors, four Councilmen, four State Representatives, a State Senator, two School Board Members, officials from the Democratic Party, Board of Elections, Urban League, NAACP, the publisher of the Call and Post, and other concerned Blacks, left Washington with personal commitments from the entire Cleveland delegation to oppose the nomination, including Senator John Glenn, who made his intentions publicly known at a press conference that very afternoon.

The Cleveland State University episode is another example of how appearances can be deceiving. In this case, the University was interested in acquiring portions of some City streets necessary for construction of its new convocation center. At a Finance Committee meeting, I explained that some long-standing policies of the University needed to be discussed in greater detail before my committee would release the legislation. I had asked for a meeting with appropriate officials where the issue could be addressed. This public exchange went unnoticed in the newspaper accounts of Council business that day.

It was my expectation that a meeting would be quickly arranged. Instead, two weeks went by, and either through misunderstanding or simple arrogance, the University decided to charge in the newspapers that my concerns were groundless and probably based upon some political objective.

As I had not anticipated the public charges, or the resulting media assault, I had little expectation of immediate support from my colleagues. Much to my surprise however, the community wasted no time. In less than a week, fourteen organizations, including the NAACP, Urban League, 21st District Caucus, Operation Alert, Black Professionals Association, Operation Push, and the Cleveland Ministerial Alliance gathered at City Hall to express their wholehearted support as well as to offer additional evidence.

The rest is history. The United States Department of Labor and a committee of The Greater Cleveland Roundtable corroborated the original charges. The media apologized for its initial reactions. In the months that followed, Cleveland State University made great strides in restoring public confidence.

One final example of where unity has translated into political power involves the twenty-one member City Council, where success has been achieved through

a simple formula of ten plus one: ten Blacks together, temporarily suspending their personal ambitions, and exerting their force as one, have defined power relative to some of the most controversial issues facing our City. What has been accomplished has not, and never could have been, realized by one person, regardless of position or authority.

Consider four of the most hotly contested issues in the last decade: Council reduction and redistricting, minority contracting and hiring, the citizen police review board, and 9mm guns for police officers. Each of these issues was the subject of great private and public debate, media editorializing, labor negotiations, and lawsuits.

Nevertheless, today a larger percentage of Blacks sit on City Council than ever before. Cleveland has one of the most comprehensive and successful minority contracting and hiring records in the country. You will find Black people present and working at every major facility the City has participated in during the past decade, from downtown office buildings to the East Side Market. Black clergy and businessmen review allegations of Police misconduct, and it is Blacks who have determined when and under what circumstances 9mm weapons will be used by police.

CONCLUSION

In the 1960s ours was a street fight for the protection of Civil Rights under the law. In the 1970s the battle shifted to the halls of government for political representation in Congress, the Statehouse, City Council and other elected offices like the School Board and County Commission. In the 1980s the emphasis has been on basic fundamentals of economic justice: jobs, promotions, government contracts, business development and fair and decent housing.

What comes next? In my mind the issue has already arrived. The recent Supreme Court case relative to minority set-aside contracts is indicative of the new era into which we are entering, and will again demand a strong and unified response.

For years our battle cry had been that all men are created equal, and thus should be treated as equals, rightfully entitled to every protection of law. For years, that argument was resisted, and by erecting barriers of one kind or another, Blacks were systematically excluded from living in certain places, education in certain schools, or taking certain jobs.

Today, in spite of the fact that many fields of employment, business, technology and decision-making in all practical respects still remain closed to Black Clevelanders, the strategy, expressed by the recent *City of Richmond v. J. A. Croson Co.* Supreme Court decision, has changed.

Today it says, — *despite the fact* that leadership positions held by Blacks on corporate, civic, social, religious and political decision-making bodies remain virtually unchanged since 1967:

- we continue to suffer poverty at four times the rate of Whites in the county;

- Cleveland continues to maintain the dubious distinction of being the second most segregated City in the United States;
- our families are still subject to public and private racial incidents which appear to be on the rise;
- our infant mortality rate remains almost two and a half times the rate of Whites; and,
- 55 percent of our young people, no matter how hard they may want to work while in high school or college, will not be able to find a job even at the minimum wage.

We are now considered equals, and are no longer entitled to the protections of law which previously served to redress historical discrimination and racism.

So what must be our agenda for the 1990s? To be sure, the victories of the sixties, seventies, and eighties are by no means complete. We must continue even today to fight for basic Civil Rights, such as the right to live where we choose free of fear and harassment; for political representation, such as leadership in our school system where nearly 80 percent of the students are Black; and for economic progress, such as jobs in new office buildings or hotels where our tax dollars are used as financial subsidies.

We must continue to seek unity among ourselves, and when the stakes are raised, we must continue to be willing to take risks, postponing or threatening achievement of our own ambitions when situations demand us to act or speak out publicly.

We must nurture our own. We must educate and train our young. We must provide more scholarships and sponsorships for Black students. We must actively seek and then employ high school and college graduates, for yes, they do exist, and are talented in every field of academic endeavor.

As we continue to gain social, civic, economic, and political power, we must patronize Black-owned businesses, hire Black contractors, subscribe to Black-owned newspapers, and contribute to social service organizations, first, within our own neighborhoods. We must come to appreciate our history, and look deep within ourselves to honor and sustain the one refuge that has been with us since the first slave ship landed in Virginia. Even in 1989, can anyone dispute that it is the presence and strength of the Black Church which alone has saved many of our neighborhoods from being overrun by drugs and crime?

Finally, as Dr. King understood more than twenty-five years ago, we must indeed remain "political activists." For the biggest wedge that comes between us today, is the mistaken belief that there are two classes of Black people, the "haves" and "have nots": those who have position and title, (and allegedly life without worry of continuing racism and discrimination) and those, often our youngest and most talented, who do not.

The fact is, while indeed more Blacks are working in government jobs as secretaries, workmen, police, or firemen, the proportion of Blacks elected as decision-makers — Congressmen, Governors, Mayors, State, County and City legislators

— has remained virtually unchanged over the last three decades.

Many for example, take it for granted that we have been represented over twenty years by a Black Congressman, County Commissioner, and City Council President in Cleveland. What most fail to realize however, is that Louis Stokes, Virgil Brown and George Forbes are the *first and only* Blacks to ever serve in those positions, and while each has a share of power, none has executive authority to implement fundamental institutional changes over objections of the many other public officials who oppose such change.

We must therefore continue to register and vote. As Jesse Jackson is known to say, while "Blacks may not always win when they vote, they almost certainly lose whenever they don't." We must support Black candidates to even the playing field.

The idea, plainly, is self-determination. What I hope this examination reveals is that power truly respects nothing, and will yield to nothing other than power. For minorities, power is unity, and the will to publicly express that unity regardless of the consequences.

As we head into the next century then, I see the future of Black Cleveland solely in the hands of Black Clevelanders, young and old, rich and poor, in and out of "power." In the 1990s we must begin to exercise our potential. While we must carry the banner for issues of the past, we must also break new ground.

Blacks in all walks of life in the next decade must test their limits. We should seek the highest offices in government, business, and society, because we are qualified. We should begin again to aspire to the mayor's office, greater representation on corporate boards, more chairs in our orchestra, and more degrees from the finest universities, because we are talented.

We should begin to address issues and delve into fields we have never handled before like foreign trade, energy, national security, international relations, and space, because we are "mainstream."

We should begin to dream of conceiving, designing, developing, building and re-building our own neighborhoods. We should collaborate and pool resources to form our own businesses and create our own jobs. We should win support for our dreams, not only from our own financiers, but from downtown businessmen, foundations and civic organizations, because we do have vision.

The new strategy expressed by *Richmond v. Croson* may prove to be a double-edged sword. The decision infers that in America, Blacks have equal access to everything. Maybe now it's time to prove them right.

Civil Rights: An Assessment

By U.S. Representative Louis B. Stokes

The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1965 symbolized the culmination of a century-old struggle for the rights of Black people in this country. We can view this landmark legislation as both an end and a beginning.

The Civil Rights Restoration Act was the end which many of our early Civil Rights leaders had in sight when, during the painful days of the depression decade, they struggled for economic equality. From 1930 to 1940, the proportion of Blacks in the industrial work force dropped from 7.3 percent to 5.1 percent. At this time A. Philip Randolph was instrumental in gaining acceptance for Blacks into unions such as the, then, CIO. Also in the thirties, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fought the battle for Civil Rights in the courts. In doing so, it brought suit in cases which attacked the poll tax, the all-White primary, and restrictive housing convents.

In the widely acclaimed *Scottsboro* case however, Blacks were not so fortunate. Conducted in essentially a Kangaroo court, eight Black male youngsters were given the death penalty for spurious charges claiming assault against a group of Whites. The appeals from that case lingered on for years until all the young men were eventually released.

Legal injustices of this nature correspond with economic ones. The hardships of the depression fell heavily on the Black community. In 1939, a Black man earned, on average, 40 percent of a similarly-employed White man. That same year 13 percent of the White work force was unemployed. For Blacks the figure was 22 percent. Sadly, this is one statistic which has not altered over time. As we approach the 1990s the unemployment rate for Blacks is still almost twice the rate for Whites.

THE URBAN LEAGUE AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The history of the Urban League is a history of the Civil Rights struggle from the 1930s to today. During the depression years the League carried out the first Black boycott against St. Louis chain stores that had Black customers but refused to hire Black employees. Using the slogan **DON'T BUY WHERE YOU CAN'T WORK!**, the "Jobs-for-Negroes" movement spread from St. Louis to Pittsburgh, to Chicago to Cleveland. As a result, new jobs were found for many Blacks.

The Citizen's League for Fair Play was organized by Blacks in New York in 1933 to develop a boycott. Failing to get results through talks with White merchants, stores and shops along 125th Street were picketed and street-corner rallies were

held. On some days, phones would not be used, on others electricity. These activities let the public utility companies know that Blacks were customers, too.

In Cleveland, boycotting efforts – as well as the post-war industrial boom – allowed Blacks to participate somewhat in the prosperity. They were hired in factories, retail establishments and at the Post Office. Blacks in Cleveland, as in Detroit, Los Angeles and Philadelphia, finally had jobs which were once reserved for Whites. The number of jobs, however, was not in proportion to the number of Blacks in the community, nor were the jobs in positions of corporate leadership. In fact, although the League could persuade a store here, and a company there, to hire Blacks, it was far more difficult to get Blacks in significant numbers into the higher-paid jobs in defense plants during the war.

I cannot discuss these early days of the Civil Rights movement without mentioning one of Cleveland's most revered Civil Rights activists, John O. Holly, Jr. Mr. Holly organized the Future Outlook League (FOL) in February of 1935. Mr. Booker Tall recently described the work of the FOL in the following way:

> At its peak, the FOL obtained employment for over 15,000 people and handled over 10,000 personal problems per year. Juvenile delinquency decreased over 50 percent. The integration of banks, utility companies, Black-owned businesses was predicated upon the primary objectives of John O. Holly and the Future Outlook League.

This explanation is part of a beautiful biographical sketch written by Mr. Tall for the dedication of Cleveland's Main Post Office as the John O. Holly Building. To me, it was an act of Civil Rights itself to have the Post Office Building renamed for such a great person as John O. Holly. Black leaders are often ignored when it comes to public recognition. This is a pity, especially for Black children who would benefit from seeing their leaders being recognized by society. This helps children to develop a sense of self and racial identity. It was in an effort to adjust this imbalance that I proposed the legislation for the Post Office and then had John Holly's history read into the *Congressional Record* on November 4, 1987 during the Second Session of the 100th Congress.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN CLEVELAND

The Civil Rights movement in Cleveland involved a lot of people. The Cleveland Branch of the NAACP was probably the most potent force for change during the 1960s. At that time its membership averaged over 13,000. During the 1960s leaders such as Harold Williams served as the Executive Director and Clarence Holmes was President. Rev. Donald Jacobs, Wendell Stuart, Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld and Lady Pearl Mitchell, Attorneys Armand Robinson and Richard Gund served on the NAACP Board. These are just a few of the Clevelanders who played significant rolls in fighting for Civil Rights in our community. We cannot minimize their contributions.

Other leaders were involved besides those active in the NAACP. At the Council on Racial Equality (CORE), for instance, were Ruth Turner, Arthur Evans and

Donald Bean. During these eventful years I was practicing law in the firm of Stokes, Character, Perry, Whitehead, Young and Davidson, and worked closely on many cases with Attorney Stanley Tolliver.

CORE and the NAACP amalgamated under the United Black Front. Together we demonstrated at the Cleveland Public School building, and at the construction site of the Lakeside Federal building. Our demonstration there was to protest the lack of Black contractors and workers.

It was at this site that Ruth Turner, a former Harvard student, jumped into the pit and was arrested. My law firm tried Ruth's case and those of all the others who laid in the streets to prevent the essentially White construction of the Federal building.

The Legal Redress Committee of the NAACP devised a strategy aimed at obtaining Supreme Court review of the tactics used to perpetuate school segregation. This led to us filing the nation's first school desegregation suit which then became the precedent for cases that we tried all over the country. This first suit was brought in the name of Daisy Klagett and Judge Kalflesh of the U.S. District Court for the Northeastern Ohio District heard the case. National NAACP Counsel Robert Lee Carter, who followed Thurgood Marshall, was the plaintiff's attorney. Judge Kalflesh threw the case out, and this led us to develop the strategy of holding demonstrations in our quest for justice from the courts.

The demonstration strategy caused so many people to be arrested at the School Board, that it took Russell Adrine and myself six months to try the cases of Criminal Trespass which were filed against them. The first of the cases was that of a young White man. We tried that case before a jury and won. In fact we won every case which were all before Judge Ted Williams in the Cleveland Municipal Court.

In terms of other Civil Rights activists, I cannot overlook the contributions of my own brother, The Honorable Carl Stokes. His successful mayoral candidacy in 1967 sent a sense of achievement throughout the country. Today — just twenty years later — there are 312 Black mayors in the United States. As a state legislator in 1960, my brother was deeply involved in Civil Rights efforts. His experience in that realm gave all of us insights which led to our successful stand against the gerrymandering of the Northeast Ohio district which took place under Governor Jim Rhodes. Mr. Larry Brisker of Cuyahoga Community College, assisted by Mr. Donald Bean, drew the boundaries of the 21st District. In an article done about me in Ms. Madelyn Blunt's *Clubdate* magazine, Fall 1988, Mr. Brisker noted that in drawing up the 21st District, they inadvertently drew up the 19th which is presently represented by Congressman Ed Feighan.

It is impossible to list all the pioneers who were instrumental in rectifying the injustice caused by gerrymandering. They included Charles V. Carr, William O. Walker, Charles Loeb, City Editor of the Call Post, Attorneys Frank Lyons, Harvey Johnson, Wyatt Brownley, and Claiborne George.

In passing, I would like to mention that Congressional Districts are based upon

population. The population of the United States will again be counted in 1990 and it is vital to our Civil Rights progress that all Blacks be included in the 1990 Census. Efforts should be underway now to ensure that all minority and disavantaged populations be counted.

My own particular efforts now are focused in the legislative arena. The new federalism or states rights approach being taken by the on-going Republican Administration means that national legislation is being written more and more for local administration. This approach to government means that national and even international work done on congressional committees has an impact on my local constituents.

MY MESSAGE TO YOU FROM WASHINGTON

As a response to the concerns of Blacks locally and nationally, I helped to found The Congressional Black Caucus-Legislative Services Office (CBC-LSO) in 1970. There were thirteen of us serving in the U.S. House of Representatives at the time. Today, one woman and twenty-two men serve in Congress representing some of the largest concentrations of Blacks in the nation. My current esteemed colleagues include The Honorable Augustus F. Hawkins —California; The Honorable John Conyers, Jr. — Michigan; The Honorable William L. Clay — Missouri; The Honorable Ronald V. Dellums — California; The Honorable Charles B. Rangel — New York; The Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy — D.C.; The Honorable Harold E. Ford — Tennessee; The Honorable Julian C. Dixon — California; The Honorable William H. Gray, III — Pennsylvania; The Honorable Mickey Leland — Texas; The Honorable George W. Crockett, Jr. — Michigan; The Honorable Gus Savage — Illinois; The Honorable Major R. Owens — New York; The Honorable Edolphus Towns — New York; The Honorable Charles A. Hayes — Illinois; The Honorable Mike Espy — Missouri; The Honorable Floyd Flake — New York; and The Honorable John Lewis — Georgia.

Together, we join with other humanitarians such as our CBC-LSO Associate Members, so that a unified voice can be heard regarding Civil Rights.

The following pieces of national Civil Rights legislation directly impinge upon the quality of life at the local level: Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act; The Equal Pay Act; the Age Discrimination in Employment Act; Executive Order 11246; the Rehabilitation Act of 1973; the Vietnam-Era Veterans Readjustment Act of 1974; the Revenue Sharing Act of 1972 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985 was required to overcome the Supreme Court decision that abolished parts of the 1964 Voting Rights Act and Title IX. In 1989, unfortunately, it is still imperative to have laws which are protective of the Civil Rights of minorities, women and other vulnerable populations. We are still trying to enact legislation that will give women equal pay for equal work. We still have a very vital need for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

I am hopeful that President Bush will be more sensitive to Civil Rights issues.

I think there are encouraging indications that he may be. With the appointment of Jack Kemp — who favors Urban Enterprise Zones and tenant purchase of public housing — as Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, for instance, there is evidence that there will be better rapport between Congress, and the White House on Civil Rights issues. This also means better rapport with leaders of the Black community. In addition, Bush's prompt response to Rev. Jesse Jackson's cautionary advice with regard to the parole of James Earl Ray, convicted killer of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, as reported in the December 26, 1988 issue of *Time Magazine*, could be auspicious.

Nevertheless, the fact cannot be ignored that, based upon a post-Presidential election poll by Gallup done for the Times Mirror Company, one third of Bush's strong supporters scored high on measures of racial intolerance (*U.S. News and World Report*, December 2, 1988/Jan. 2, 1989:35). Further, the appointment of Bush's fiesty National Campaign Manager, Lee Atwater, who ran such a reckless campaign against Democratic Presidential Candidate Michael Dukakis, may mean that the same type of tactics will be applied to local campaigns where "liberal" candidates are running against "conservatives". In the face of such a possibility, local political organizations will have to develop the capacity to respond efficiently and effectively to any attacks on present and/or potential representatives who are determined to continue the Civil Rights struggle.

Two new pieces of legislation which will impact heavily upon minority and disadvantaged populations everywhere were both passed during the 100th Congress, 2nd Session. The first is the Workforce Adjustment Act, popularly known as The 60-Day Notice — Plant Closing Bill, which was signed into law by then-President Reagan on August 4, 1988. The second piece of legislation is The Family Support Act of 1988, popularly known as The Welfare Reform Bill, which President Reagan signed on October 13, 1988.

The Plant Closing Bill, requires that large companies (those with 100 or more employees) give workers and communities two months notice before a plant is scheduled to be shut down for six months or longer. Apart from the specified exceptions, workers must receive full pay during the 60-day notification period.

A list of the exceptions to the Act's provisions makes very interesting reading. The Act is *not* applicable to companies hit by "unforeseen circumstances"; to those which are in a "precarious financial condition"; and, finally, those with less than 100 employees. The former two exceptions may apply to *any* manufacturing concerning operating here in the Rust Belt. The Urban League of Greater Cleveland has compiled a list of both service and manufacturing as well as health employers of 100 or more employees in order to help monitor the effectiveness of this Act. The list was compiled using Harris's *1987 Ohio Service Directory* and *1987 Ohio Industrial Directory* and telephone surveys. The list is available from the League's Research and Evaluation Division.

We must begin to form new and more comprehensive alliances, such as that represented in Rev. Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, if we are to be able to challenge the current onslaught of attacks upon Civil Rights issues. Others must be made

to recognize how discrimination against one person hurts the whole community.

Here are the key provisions of the Welfare Reform Act.

1. A rather paltry $3.3 billion allocation is to be made over five years for the new Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS). This program is supposed to replace the Work Incentive Program (WIN). Effective as of October 1, 1990, $600 million has been allocated for Fiscal Year 1989. That amount will increase to $1.3 billion by 1995. In this Act, States are required to provide various educational activities, job skills training, job readiness activities, job development and job placement. The Fifth Annual Midwest Regional Youth Conference sponsored by the National Alliance of Business with the assistance of the U.S. Department of Labor, Health and Human Services, The Great Lakes Consortium — among several others — presented the results of several "At-Risk" Youth Demonstration projects. What was noteworthy about these projects is that for the first time they emphasized the need to develop programming in which life skills support accompany job training. Unfortunately, unless an individual State decides to implement these crucial projects, the ultimate goals of the Act will not be achieved.
2. A "revolutionary" provision — for some States, at least — was included here to provide support for two-parent households. States currently providing Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) Unemployed Parent benefits, and Medicaid (there is a Federal match for from 60-80 percent for the Medicaid program) cannot limit benefits. Those who are not currently doing so must provide at least six months of cash benefits and Medicaid to the entire family. If the family is still cash-eligible after six months, it can limit their future cash benefits to six additional months. After September 1998, the current law will be reinstated. One parent must participate at lease sixteen hours per week — possibly less under CWEP (Workfare) — in work supplementation, on-the-job training or other work experience program as of 1994. An exception may be made for a parent who is under age twenty-five and a high school drop-out. This provision expires likewise on September 30, 1998.
3. The Act also requires States to provide twelve months of child care for families leaving welfare due to employment — it too expires in 1998. The same transition period is given for Medicaid, also.

   States are only required to spend 55 percent of their JOBS funds on populations having multiple barriers to employment. (This provision sounds uncomfortably like a reverse discrimination protection).

The new Acts, and others, reflect key areas of concern that require continued Civil Rights action.

In Cleveland, employment is still the major area in which we need to bring about equal opportunity and *real* affirmative action.

Housing is undoubtedly another very severe problem in our community. The

drastic Reagan cuts have seriously undermined the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority's (CMHA) ability to repair its estates and maintain a decent living standard for its occupants. In effect, those tenants are denied their Civil Rights when they are denied decent living conditions.

Health is also a pressing Civil Rights problem. Blacks are disproportionately representated among the 43 million who have no health care plan.

Community/Police Relations in this area are about as bad as when I argued *Terry vs. Ohio, 1968*, before the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1960s. Issues such as police brutality and Preventive Detainer (*U.S. vs. Salerno, 1987*) are hovering ominously over this section of the Great Lakes region as well as in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles.

The configuration of the Supreme Court is going to change dramatically in the next few years with the most liberal justices, Marshall, Brennan and Blackmon all nearing the point of retiring from the Bench. The two most conservative justices, Scalia and Kennedy are also the youngest, O'Connor and Stevens conservative moderates — the term is used advisedly — are in their late fifties. The arch-concervative Supreme Court Chief Justice Rehnquist is in his early sixties. Old-line Democratic classical conservative Justice White is in his seventies. A Black appointment by Bush would very possibly not bring long-range benefit to the Black community, given the past philosophical bent of some Blacks who have supported the recent Republician Administrations.

With regard to the steps that must be taken to counter some of the set backs we have experienced recently, it seems to me that it is most fundamental that Blacks do not yield to complacency. We must feel a sense of urgency as we approach the 1990s. Having endured eight years of one of the most repressive and regressive Administrations ever to serve at the helm of this country, strong, unified action is necessary. The Reagan Administration had an ongoing battle against most of the Civil Rights gains made during the past twenty years. It openly created an environment in which racism has become respectable. It has even become tolerable to some former Civil Rights friends. In its most benign forms it is seen as an ingenious form of resistance to change in our workplaces, schools and residential communities. In its more virulent form, it excuses the existence of skinhead groups as youthful over-enthusiasm.

As a consequence, Blacks must renew vigilance to identify, monitor and respond to racism wherever and whenever it appears. Blacks must unite to use every legal opportunity to counteract racism.

Politically there is a very real need for the 21st Congressional Caucus. It is an organization that is not beholden to Democrats or Republicans. It is incumbent upon organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League to develop unified strategies. Change will only come about when Black leaders who are being harrassed and attacked publicly because of their work on behalf of the Black communities, are vindicated. We must be *proactive* rather than reactive in developing programs which are responsive to the needs of Blacks and which are adequately funded and effectively organized.

I am tired of the attitide that White rights are automatic and Black rights are something for which Blacks have to fight. The sense that the *status quo* should prevail seems to have permeated the Cleveland scene as it has throughout the country. A person ought not to be born, live and die fighting for his or her rights. Black people must realize that no matter how high they go as individuals, they still lag behind similarly situated Whites. The Civil Rights movement is just as salient today for the middle-class Blacks as it is for their less fortunate brothers and sisters. Unity of all groups is the key.

ECONOMIC STATE

Economic Overview of the Status of African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area

By Margaret E. Williams, M.A.
Ohio Bell Telephone Company

INTRODUCTION

Briefly defined economics is the manner in which, and the processes involved in, the distribution of goods and services in a society. As this overview will point out, African Americans in the Greater Cleveland area are at a decided disadvantage in this distribution. Furthermore, this disadvantaged state is a deliberate function of the majoritarian community's efforts to restrict economic participation by African Americans. This is the case at both the national and the local levels. The motivation behind these efforts is simply to monopolize and control the goods and services in the community. It reflects a desire to maintain a high quality of life in an era of depleting resources and economic transition.

Majority control of the distribution of goods and services has been — and continues to be — a relatively easily implemented and convenient means of racial exclusion.

In the Cleveland Standard Metropolitan Area (SMA) the average per capita income stood at $13,103 in 1983. Thus, Cleveland ranked 39th among 3134 SMA's across the country. However, the average income for a Black, female-headed household is less that $7,000 in Cleveland.

UNEMPLOYMENT

National unemployment figures for Black workers indicate that unemployment declined during the third quarter of 1988. Officially, 11.4 percent of the Black civilian labor force was unemployed compared with 12.8 percent in the third quarter of 1987. However, the National Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index indicates a much higher jobless rate and a more modest decline. The Hidden Unemployment Index indicates that 24.0 percent of Black workers were jobless during the third quarter of 1988 as compared with 25.5 percent in the third quarter of 1987.

Overall, Black joblessness was 2.5 times the level of White unemployment in the third quarter of 1988. A year ago, Blacks were 2.6 times more likely to be unemployed, indicating that the Black/White unemployment gap was virtually unchanged.

According to the Hidden Unemployment Index, Black female teenagers had the highest absolute unemployment rate, while Black males were the worst off relative to their White counterparts (Source: Quarterly Economic Report on The Black Worker, The National Urban League – Research department; Report No. 18, Third Quarter, December, 1988).

According to the Labor Market Review (Ohio Labor Market Information Division of the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services, Ellen O'Brien Saunders, Administrator) Ohio's overall unemployment rate was 6.1 percent during the third quarter of 1988 compared with 5.4 percent for the country as a whole. The estimated comparative Black/Whiteunemployment rates for selected Ohio cities shown in the following table are based upon the Black/White joblessness ratio and respective unemployment rates according to the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services (OBES). It should be noted that the Great Lakes region, still lags sigificantly behind more prosperous areas, such as New England and the West in terms of unemployment rates, reinvestment indicators, profit levels, etc. This fact has a direct bearing on conditions here in Ohio.

CITY	WHITE UNEMPLOYMENT*	BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT*
Akron	7.6%	19.0%
Cleveland	7.7	19.3
Cincinnati	6.1	15.3
Columbus	5.9	14.8
Dayton	6.2	13.7
Tbledo	7.8	19.5

*These percentages do not include the discouraged or the defeated worker.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Clearly, the "Recovery" has not yet reached African Americans. Currently, Cleveland's Minority Set-Aside program provides for minority "competition" for 25 percent of all contracts let by the City of Cleveland. There are several factors which may have some impact upon this set-aside program. The potential for disruptions due to the recent Supreme Court decision overturning the Richmond, Virginia, Affirmative Action Plan, is mitigated in Cleveland because of the way the local legislation is written. Community leaders in Cleveland are saying that the program here is safe. Even so, the Richmond Case indicates the U.S. Supreme Court's antipathy to equal opportunity and the decision cannot be taken lightly by anyone concerned about the future of Black entrepreneurship in Cleveland.

A change of personnel in City Hall in January, 1989 has added another unknown into the equation that determines the economic well-being of African Americans in Cleveland. On January 28, 1989, Mayor George Voinovich announced that the city will merge the staff of its Community Development Department with the staff of the Economic Development Department. The change was made, he said, in the interest of economy. The former Economic

Development Director, Andis Udris, stepped down and the new Director of Community Development, Vincent J. Lomardi, took his position as director of the new, combined office. The viability of the City's Affirmative Action Program is crucial to African Americans as plans are drawn up for the development of such projects as the Midtown Service Center, the Figgie International site, the Flats, neighborhood revitalization projects, as well as several new hotels and office buildings. The disappearance of the Economic Development Director is a potentially ominous sign for Black businessmen. Without the Affirmative Action Program, African Americans will not obtain their fair share of participation in these important projects. As Attorney Melanie E. Lomax commented in the Plain Dealer, January 28, 1989:

> **A program narrowly tailored to correct the present effects of past discrimination can still survive. Believers in affirmative action must hope that members of the Los Angeles City Council do not interpret the Supreme Court decision as requiring a retreat from their commitment. The court has done more than enough retreating, and it remains for our political leadership to advance the cause of equality at least as vigorously as the court has diminished it. (p. 5-B)**

The prospects for African Americans with regard to President Bush's Administration and Equal Opportunity may be somewhat more hopeful than with the Reagan Administration. That optimism is spurred by Jack Kemp's appointment as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Kemp is viewed by some as a long time friend of the Congressional Black Caucus. Kemp is known to be an advocate of neighborhood participation in Urban Enterprise Zones which indicates that African American self-help efforts may find some Federal support through Secretary Kemp's office. On the otherhand, since Bush is a more thorough technocrat than Reagan, economic disadvantages for Blacks could be more comprehensively and systematically implemented if desired.

HOUSING

In the area of housing, Jack Kemp may turn out to be an auspicious selection with regard to increasing the quality and quantity of housing for African Americans. This additional bit of optimism is inspired by Kemp's statement (loosely paraphrased here) that the fundamental factor contributing to homelessness is the lack of affordable housing units. Such a statement is an encouraging sign. Nevertheless, given the present "self-help" theme currently being heralded throughout the nation, it is up to a coalition of business, community and African American leaders to ensure meaningful African American participation in any program designed to provide more low-cost housing units.

On the local level, the City of Cleveland has approximately 240,000 housing units. This figure includes apartments, single-family and two-family homes. Too many of these houses or apartments are dilapidated. The building boom now underway will be incomplete if serious attention is not given to improving existing

houses and building new houses in the City of Cleveland. Serious dollars need to be committed to this issue, otherwise Cleveland's dilapidated neighborhoods will continue to be an embarrassment to the entire community.

The findings of the study done by the *Atlanta Journal — Constitution* indicates the depth of the housing problem in Cleveland. This study revealed that African Americans were rejected by Cleveland thrift associations for mortgage loans 3.74 times more often than Whites. This figure, coupled with the 1987 Cuyahoga Plan report which stated that Cleveland is the second most segregated major city after Chicago, is prima facie evidence for action. Further, subtle discrimination continues in mortgage lending as manifested by certain definitive lender practices reported in the *Plain Dealer* (January 20, 1989, page 1-C). For instance, Richard Harvey, Director of Marketing and Sales at McMullan Realty, Inc., described one such practice as the refusal by lenders to accept a loan for less than $35,000 or $40,000, inspite of the fact that good houses are available in Cleveland for $20,000, according to Dixie Jelks, President of the Cleveland Association of Real Estate Brokers. These figures are supported by statistics published by the Cuyahoga Plan which show that the average house in Cleveland is valued at approximately $28,000 less than an average one in the surrounding Cuyahoga County suburbs. These lending practices have a profound impact on Black members of the community who could afford a mortgage on a moderately priced house, if the mortgage money were released from the banks.

TAX ABATEMENT

Tax abatement must be discussed in this book because its affect on African Americans has been grossly distorted in the press and electronic media. The issue of tax abatement necessarily encompasses all three major sub-topics in this chapter: Unemployment, Affirmative Action and Housing.

There are two major dimensions of the tax abatement issue: equity and growth. The opponents have positioned abatement as being antithetical to equity. They have characterized it as being a misallocation of governmental resources in relation to distributive justice among its people. Put simply, anti-tax abatement groups claim that developers who receive tax breaks from the city use the funds to contruct glossy new buildings to the exclusion of new houses in Cleveland's deteriorating neighborhoods.

It is imperative here to note that nothing is more certain to cause the rapid demise of a neighborhood than the loss of jobs for its residents. The table showing Ohio's unemployment rates clearly indicates that the weight of job loss falls disproportionately on African Americans. The loss of job opportunities in a neighborhood precedes the decay of its buildings. This is important to recognize because, unlike other communities which have entertained tax abatement on an unplanned, unreflective basis, local government here in Cleveland has evaluated it as an alternative only in terms of its responsibility to the area's residents. Tax abatement was seriously considered only after events occurred which had

an ominous effect on the future of the City of Cleveland and on its neighboring communities. Understanding this issue requires a historical perspective.

After the 1968 election of Richard Nixon, the Federal government began a massive retreat from domestic spending at the local level. The programs of urban renewal, which had been implemented on what can only be termed a limited, experimental basis at best, were rescinded. This reactionary governmental abdication of responsibility for the nation's cities happened at a time when the private sector also began to be ambivalent about municipal support.

Against this background, Ohio passed tax abatement legislation, Senate Bill 90 — also known as the Impacted Cities Bill — in November of 1973. That was the year of the oil embargo and the beginning of a far-reaching recession, from which it took the country almost two years to recover.

Just as the City of Cleveland began to experience some of that recovery, another jolt hit it. Its industries, long the mainstay of Cleveland's economic health, discovered the cheap labor markets overseas and the cheap land and labor of the Sunbelt. What did this mean? As a location of high wage and expensive land, Cleveland was not the place to locate a factory.

In acknowledgement of the fact that it was no longer competitive strictly on its own merits as a business location, the City of Cleveland passed tax abatement legislation in June and August of 1977 which resulted in the National City Bank Building and Sohio's new world headquarters being constructed in downtown Cleveland. However, at that point, Dennis Kucinich, taking advantage of the "Proposition 13" shortsightedness that existed at the time, was elected Mayor after campaigning vigorously on the issue of tax abatement.

Todd Swanstrom explains the implications of Kucinich's stand in *The Crisis of Growth Politics*, (Temple University Press), Swanstrom writes:

> **Shortly after he (Kucinich) took office...council passed abatements for a number of projects on the lakefront, including a $25 million, 500-room Hyatt Regency Hotel, an office-apartment tower, and an office and hangar at Burke Lakefront Airport. Kucinich immediately vetoed the legislation, saying that he wanted to expand the port rather than use the lakefront for luxury hotels, apartments, and offices. After his vetoes were overridden by a vote of 28-3, he fought the projects by freezing federal money for improvements on piers, halting construction of water and sewer lines to any lakefront development, and, in general promising to make life miserable for the projects by foot dragging on demolition, police protection, and other services. The projects died on the drawing boards.**

And, for the time being, so did the real possibility for growth in Cleveland.

This brings us to the second dimension of the tax abatement issue—that of growth. After the withdrawal of the Federal government, cities were left to their own devices to foster and generate growth. This caused devastating problems in Cleveland as the flight of jobs and the depreciation of land values within the

City boundaries drastically reduced the city's operating budget.

Fortunately, as an alternative to city growth, tax abatement does not require that a city have any cash reserves. Thus, a city does not have to have any up-front money to offer an incentive to builders. Although adversaries argue that tax abatement requires too much "back end" loss, there is no such loss when it is realized that there would have been no gain in the first place without tax abatement. No one wants to go with a loser. Once a few adventurous individuals take the risk — and the pain — then they lessen the hazards for future investors. Eventually, everybody wants to jump on the bandwagon — and the music from that bandwagon is heard by all taxpayers and investors, alike. The initial pioneers, stimulate growth in the region which is exponential, in Malthusian terms, rather than incremental. In other words, the ripples from the initial investment far exceed the first drop in the bucket. In addition, the area of its influence is geometrically expanded. The entire community is perceived as a growth area.

Further, this perception is generally reflected in projections of business profitability. There is a change in the "business climate". This business factor is a major consideration in corporations' relocation and expansion decisions. The enhancement of the city's business climate, in turn, spurs re-evaluations of its credit and bond ratings.

The African American community here in Cleveland must see a direct benefit from tax abatement. Any participants in a tax abatement program in this town should be mandated to commit to a minimal level of proportionate African American participation from contracts, to jobs to civic support.

The claim that abatement causes a loss of revenue for schools, street and bridge repair, etc., is pure fantasy. Increased property values and the resulting increase in tax revenue simply would not exist without tax abatement. No abatement, no tax increases: nothing from nothing leaves nothing. The bottom line is that Blacks, as well as Whites, will benefit in the new investment in Greater Cleveland. Those who were abandoned by the Federal government, the financial institutions and industry, will share in the new exponential growth and re-emergence of Greater Cleveland as a major commercial and trade center. The main point is that tax abatement will bring new jobs and spur additional investment. This additional investment is over and above any $295 million Cleveland city budget for 1989—whether directed at "neighborhood development" in the strictly parochial sense or not. It is also significantly above the 1989 spending program planned for the $23.8 million in Federal block grants.

Such additional benefits would be deflected to the South and overseas by attractions such as "right-to-work" legislation, non-unionization, low wages and inexpensive land costs. At this point in its history, Greater Cleveland just could not compete against these outside forces.

Another element which mitigates for tax abatement is the fact that local government in Cleveland is so highly fragmented and divisive that in the past, comprehensive, long-range planning has been problematic. As previously cited, Cleveland is one of the most segregated cities in the country. It is not only

segregated along racial lines, but ethnic, economic and even, in some places, religious ones. Furthermore, there are seventy-one different property tax jurisdictions in Cuyahoga County alone. This is in contrast to greater concentration and centralization of the private sector. In addition to having more economic resources than the public sector, the private sector is more technologically advanced, more organized and more financially sophisticated. In terms of having the capacity to initiate, implement and institutionalize major economic planning programs, the private sector, at this time in our history is infinitely more prepared than most public jurisdictions.

What the public sector can influence is the social responsibility component. Hopefully, this component is a non-negotiable in any future city administration. African Americans living in Greater Cleveland should be guaranteed their fair share of the windfall from abatement — and, that share must include parity in housing and jobs. Since government retrenchment forced the community to collaborate with the private sector, any attempts at collaboration should inure to the benefit of those least able to protect themselves against private sector abuses.

Thus, while those in government may not have the funds to work for the people, the community and its leaders must make sure that those who have the funds will put the people to work. And, this means *all* people — Black, White, Green and Purple in numbers proportionate to their representation at least in the greater Cleveland community.

CONCLUSION

The following have been identified as inhibiting African American economic growth and development:

- insufficient academic preparation;
- economic mainstream isolation;
- undeveloped entrepreneurial establishments;
- lack of credit;
- disproportionately high unemployment;
- inadequate housing units;
- predetermined "glass ceiling" type promotion opportunities;
- racially targeted financial institution financing arrangements;
- restricted business equity information, involvement and investment;
- limited legal, financial, social "old boy" — insider network background education and access;
- the dismantling of individual and organizationally-based affirmative action programs; and,
- only token representation in unions and union leadership roles — particularly regarding the restaurant, garment, transportation, construction and trade industries.

Needless to say, my recommendations are simply that the above factors be reversed.

Logically then, we can conclude that there is a need for greater African American representation on such bodies as The Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Cleveland Tomorrow, Cleveland Now, The Convention and Visitors Bureau, The New Cleveland Campaign, The Primus Fund, Enterprise Development Industry (Center for Venture Development), The Federation for Community Planning, Leadership Cleveland, The Great Lakes Consortium as well as other local and national, private and public, economically-focused, decision-making bodies which are essential in any effective revitalization process. This includes African American membership upon any publicly-held as well as publicly impacting private corporate structures. Public impact exists when a company has any significantly measurable influence upon the lifestyle, employment rates, standard of living, attitude formation, health, safety, public resources and the peaceful enjoyment of the environment in the Greater Cleveland community. Such impact is significant when the level of functioning and/or the quality of that functioning within an entire neighborhood or group of neighborhoods is affected by the decisions, policies or practices of either a local company or its national/multinational affiliate.

Finally, then, it will not be until each and every one of the factors which inhibit African American economic stability and success have been addressed, attacked and abolished that African Americans will achieve full economic parity in Cleveland or anywhere in the United States — or, indeed, the world.

Entrepreneurship, Economic Equality and Empowerment

By Cheryle Ann Wills
Executive Director, Operation Alert

I am writing this brief introduction to Black business in Cleveland from the perspective of one who actively participates in the business world and who keenly desires to see more of her Black brothers and sisters successfully involved in that world. This perspective is particularly timely given the self-help, pull-yourself-up-by-the-bootstraps climate which exists in this country today.

What I want to see is the reversal of a trend in this community. Since the 1960s, the number and type of Black businesses has steadily declined. We can see the beginning of this trend even before the 1960s. For example, my friend, Mr. Booker Tall, tells me that there has been a drastic reduction in the number of Black businesses from virtually the early part of this century.

Cleveland had a thriving Black business community that served both Black and White clientele during the 1920s and 1930s. The consistency of Black businesses during the first half of the Twentieth Century transcended racial lines.

A change in racial attitudes undoubtedly contributed to the fact that the number of Black businesses fell from 11 percent of the Cleveland business community in the 1920s to less than 1 percent of that community during the 1980s. According to the 1982 Census comprising those who had submitted IRS forms indicating business ownership, there were 136 Black-owned firms in the United States which had 100 employees or more — .4 percent of the total. No such firm is located to my knowledge in the Cleveland area.

In Cleveland, as nationally, the majority of Black firms — over 90 percent — operate as either sole proprietorships or unincorported partnerships. Needless to say, these legal forms expose the Black entrepreneurship to a much greater degree of personal liability than incorporated firms.

The number of firms with paid employees in the State of Ohio is significantly lower than in Georgia or Florida, for instance.

STATE	NUMBER OF BLACK FIRMS WITH PAID EMPLOYEES
OHIO	1,510
MICHIGAN	1,446
GEORGIA	2,023
FLORIDA	2,488

Source: The Black Resource Guide, 1988-89 Edition, R. Benjamin and Jacqueline L. Johnson, Publishers.

Why is this the case? One hint to the answer in found in a July 1, 1988 report from the Greater Cleveland Roundtable in which Carole Hoover of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association quotes Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young as saying that his city "...may have strong affirmative action and MBE programs, but that the real driving force behind Black economic development is Atlanta's harmonious racial climate." Another observation made by Ms. Hoover exemplifies the ramifications of this climate.

> . . . Another barrier which I have found to be very real [in Cleveland] is the one which sharply divides us after 5:00 p.m. every day.
>
> This social barrier doesn't exist in a community such as Atlanta. There, economic development for Blacks was made easier because a climate of mutual respect already existed. Blacks and Whites had been socializing after 5:00 p.m. for many years. They know each other as people and as friends. Eyebrows are not raised if a White business person invites a Black business person into his home.

I agree with Ms. Hoover when she goes on in her article to call for greater representation of Blacks on civic and business finance boards. She gives the following figures with reference to the percentage of Blacks and Whites on local boards.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS	PERCENTAGE OF BLACK BOARD MEMBERS
United Way	21.3
Federation for Community Planning	22.0
Greater Cleveland Roundtable	30.0
Convention & Visitors Bureau	13.0
Cleveland Foundation	18.0
New Cleveland Campaign	5.7

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS	
Cleveland Tomorrow	0.0
Primus Fund	0.0
Enterprise Development Industry (Center for Venture Development)	10.5
Greater Cleveland Growth Association	7.1

Ms. Hoover summarizes this information by noting that of 425 board members of civic organization in Cleveland, 81, or 19 percent, are Black. Of the 153 board members of business organizations, only 8, or 5.6 percent, are Black. She also notes that between 1978 and 1988 only 73 or 12.6 percent of the participants in the Leadership Cleveland program were Black. Furthermore, she goes on to tell us that only 20 of these 73 participants were from the business arena. This is only 10 percent of the 199 total Leadership Cleveland business participants.

An important point: although Blacks can obtain entry level managerial jobs through diligent affirmative action efforts, their representation at the middle management and executive levels in Cleveland is virtually non-existent. Many times this situation is camouflaged by the ingenious use of high sounding titles — Field Manager, Project Director — which are virtually meaningless in terms of real power, prestige and financial rewards within the corporate structure.

THE POOLING PRINCIPLE

Given the steady decline of Black businesses in Cleveland and our general lack of clout on corporate boards, I think that it is time that entrepreneurship is redefined. Taking into consideration the self-help mentality permeating the country, I think Black people need to pool their resources—not only to start up new ventures but also in supporting established ones. This is my pooling principle of entrepreneurship.

Pooling can be done with the same sense of camaraderie, concentration and commitment that working class people of all races use in consenting to combine to "play the numbers" in the state sponsored game. Pooling would be a form of venture capitalization that is more feasible when considering also the current day corporate division between ownership (stockholders) and management, anyway.

Until our training, education and experience levels improve our individual competitiveness, I feel we are better served by these joint efforts which would involve collaboration and cooperation.

Cleveland has a wealth of capable Black accountants who could help to get a pool of investors together. There are a number of Cleveland area resources designed to help new and aspiring entrepreneurs which could be of great assistance to my Pooling Principle idea.

Tanya Allmond helps Cleveland area businessmen meet governmental set-aside criteria of the city. Dr. Michelle Spain, Director of the Minority Contractors Assistance Program a division of the Ohio Department of Development, is

one of her counterparts at the state level. Jackie Jenkins, Staff Assistant for U.S. Representative Louis Stokes, provides invaluable information and references on the programs as does Corliss Newsome of the Small Business Administration available at the federal level.

Within the private sector, George C. Fraser is demonstrating the value of pooling resources rather than trying to do it alone through the development of his organization, SuccessNet "Success through Networking". The aforementioned, Booker T. Tall, a long time friend of the Black entrepreneur, provides advice and direction through his company, Resource Research Associates. There many other Black entrepreneurial support concerns such as Burns Public Relations Services, Incorporated and Madeline L. Cargill & Associates, Incorporated.

I must point out once more that the greatest predictor of business success is educational attainment, as was emphasized in a study done by the Minority Business Development Agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce. The most useful advice that I could give to anyone desiring business success is to go to an institution of higher learning and take courses in psychology, sociology, English, math and computers, *and* then you become proficient in the direct skill area required by your business. In addition, POOL YOUR RESOURCES!

This advice is not intended at all to let the areas banks, financial establishments, other businesses and government off the hook. These institutions have an obligation to extend services to all sectors of our society. It is incumbent upon our corporate, governmental and community leaders to devise strategies with regard to the systematic monitoring and enforcement of Affirmative Action objectives at all levels. It will avail us nothing to have a lot of publicity about the betterment of Blacks during the Twentieth Century if our ability to own the businesses that can contribute to our own economic survival has been distinctly and definitively decreased.

An on-going analysis and intervention plan regarding why, how and what can be done to overcome this situation in the Greater Cleveland area is fundamental to Black survival in this community.

THE STRUGGLES AND THE SUCCESSES

The Council for Economic Opportunities reports that in Cleveland, there are four times as many Blacks in the poverty category than Whites. Blacks are being defined as an "At-Risk" population. Studies have further shown that middle class Blacks receive most of their income from the public sector as opposed to the private. In practical terms, many Blacks are just one pay check away from disaster.

Considering the fact that it takes at least five years for the average business to produce a profit, Blacks presently are too modestly situated to have such of a chance to overcome the odds against a solitary venture into business.

I must point out here that there are important exceptions to this sombre picture in the Cleveland area and I am very proud of the impressive succession at these brothers and sisters.

In the area of security and security systems we find Russell G. Fox of the Fox Detective Agency doing an exemplary job. In terms of personnel, Ran and Associates, has provided Black leadership for over fifteen years. Presidents of their respective companies, Herman Allen of Innovations Diagnostic Hair and Skin Salon and Floyd Swope of Mirror-Mirror are to be congratulated for their perseverance through the years.

John H. Bustamante is to be encouraged to build on the efforts of W.O. Walker at the *Call and Post* (B.P.W. Publishing). Also in the area of publishing, Madelyn Blunt continues to offer a valuable service with her magazine, *Clubdate*.

Louis Chapmon of Chapmon Auto Parts built on the entrepreneurial opportunity given by his father. Jesse Chapmon, the first AAA Automotive Station in 1944; Louis established his auto parts store in 1953.

Most of the members of this next group of entrepreneurs had to overcome a very intense, concentrated form of racism endemic to their particular trades. The problem was illustrated in a Plain Dealer article which appeared during the summer of 1988 entitled "Pipefitters Union haunted by 20-year discrimination case."

In this article Karen E. Henderson reported about an antidiscrimination lawsuit. She wrote:

> The suit alleges that instead of the 275 Black pipefitters who were supposed to have been added to the union ranks by 1975, 13 years later, there are only 125 Black in the local. Total membership is about 1,474.
>
> She also notes that discrimination was practiced in ...receiving, process, and referral" of Blacks for jobs as well as "manipulating and otherwise evading the obligations to operate a referral system to refer Blacks for work from the out-of-work register in their order of registration. The suit also says the union has failed or refused to maintain records and reports required by the consent decree.

According to George D. Edwards, the president of the Inner City Journeymen and Apprentices Trainees Organization (a Black pipefitters' association in Cleveland) few Black pipefitters had been used:

> ...on such major building projects as National City the Galleria at Erieview, the Ohio Bell Building and the BP America Building.

This then, is the background against which Black contractors such as the Burks Development Corporation, Ozanne Construction Company, Inc., Turner Construction Company; Cole-Jon, Incorporated, Durrah Corporation and CHOICE Construction Company (a female company) struggle to succeed. Such disclosures about the insidiousness of racism within the construction trades give more insights into why such programs as minority set-a-sides and goals are such an important part of any real effort to obtain Black economic equality and empowerment. The real problem is reflected in the following relation of issues relating to affirmative action efforts and Black business:

Recruitment
Organization (Business Plan)
Training
Monitorization
Support
(Capitalization; Informational/Referral Resource; Counseling Service; Supplemental Educational Institutes)

Again, my friend Mr. Tall recommends a unique approach. He feels that at least the issue of monitoring can be addressed through local Cleveland governmental efforts. He makes the following recommendations.

1. EEO (Equal Economic Opportunity Officers) should have check off power. No one would be hired or promoted without a check off pursuant to an Affirmative Action Plan.
2. EEÓ should be made a Charter Amendment. The year 1989 is scheduled for the consideration of Amendments of Cleveland's City Charter and Affirmative Action should be a top priority for inclusion into that document.
3. Executive Orders should be made which incorporate the Affirmative Action goals (with reference to both minorities and Cleveland city residents) for application to all city-related programs and projects, or, to all those doing more than 51 percent of its business with the City where the company is within the Greater Cleveland Statistical Planning Area SPA.
4. All monies resulting from federally funded projects such as Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG's) and Community Development Block Grants (CDBG's) should be put in a Capital Formation Foundation Fund for further Community Development. The monies could be utilized in the areas of the arts, cultural programming, neighborhood street projects-as well as business.
5. An Equity Loan Program should be established. Undercapitalization, as well as lack of experience and skills, have been cited as the primary source for Black failure in business. An Equity Loan Program should be adopted by the City, along the lines of the Maryland Program which was instrumental in helping Black businesses survive.

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In turning to the problems of education and training as they relate to entrepreneurship I would like to focus your attention on the Baltimore Urban League's Black Family Resource Center's insightful document *The Impact of Public Policies on Black Families* which was published in October 1988. Of particular pertinence to this discussion, was an article in that monograph entitled "The Impact of Job Training Policies on Opportunities for Entrepreneurship of Black Families." The article noted that "...there is not an existing policy of linking opportunities for entrepreneurship with training an employment for the disadvantaged. There is no national public policy nor an explicit public policy

of any state or county or local government." It further alleges that employment training for Blacks is based on a "blame the victim" type of philosophy which prejudges why program participants are poor. This framework starts with preconceived ideas about what needs to be done. Therefore, according to the article, the focus on Blacks and, therefore, on racial (sic) aspects of public policies toward the employment of economically disadvantaged persons is intentional. It is to underscore the fact that failure of public policies toward Blacks exacerbates racial inequalities and thus helps to widen economic gaps along race and class lines. The resulting stratification can scarcely be regarded as a boom for economic development generally.

The following policy recommendation is then put forward:

> The economic gap between Blacks and Whites in America continues to widen, in part because well-intentioned efforts to address the problems of the poor and disadvantaged of our communities have too often missed the mark. One alternative policy strategy advocated is to train young, disadvantaged Blacks to be managers and entrepreneurs. The strategy is to recognize the existing strengths of many of our young, Black males, who all too frequently are destined for lives of crime, drugs, and, ultimately, imprisonment; or joblessness, unemployment, and ultimately, economic dependency. This strategy is to value some of the attributes of young, teenage mothers on welfare and out of school with no skills and no hope of obtaining them. In essence, this strategy is to give some of the disfranchised the hope of owning and running legitimate enterprises.

Denis P. Doyle, a co-author of *Winning the Brain Race* asserts that the fact that our youth lack basic viability skills reflects a fundamental failure of the nation's public school system. To develop this point, Mr. Doyle compares the educational systems of the U.S. with that of Japan. He maintains that the Japanese educational system is a primary factor in Japan's stunning economic achievements. Speaking at a conference of the National Alliance of Business on December 8, 1988, he attributed the success of the Japanese educational system to:

- the severe authoritarian structure of the schools
- fierce competition among students
- relentless comformity
- state/student homogeneity of cultural background
- intense parental involvement

Mr. Doyle contrasted a survey of parents from the United States with a survey of Japanese parents survey in which both groups were asked which factor most contributed to a student's success. The American parents responded with "ability." The Japanese parents thought that "effort" was the most critical factor in a student's achievement. If the Japanese parents are right — and it appears that they are — they support the views of educator Ron Edmonds that "All children can learn." Therefore, our Black children can learn the entrepreneurial skills

they will need to succeed in the Twenty-First Century.

I feel that one way to determine the skill levels that will be necessary for students in the future, is to look at the level of technology currently being required by the nation's biggest customer — the federal government. Further, since one of the largest spenders in that budget is the government's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) — (defense appropriations doubled from $144 billion in 1980 to $293 billion in 1987). I decided that it would be meaningful to look at the business areas engaged in by the nation's top ten SDI awardees:

1. LOCKHEED MISSILES AND SPACE. DARPA laser program and the Army's ballistic missile defense (BMD) drive. Kinetic Energy Weapons Development; Exatmosheric re-entry vehicle interceptor sub-system (ERIS); High endoatmosphere system (HEDS); As well as other work for the booster surveillance and tracking system and infrared sensors.
2. GENERAL MOTORS/HUGHES AEROSPACE. Kinetic Energy Weapons (KEW); Surveillance, Acquisition, Tracking, and Kill Assessment (SATKA); Directed Energy Weapons (DEW) technologies; High endoatmospheric defense interceptors (HEDI); Space Surveillance Technology Systems (SSTS).
3. BOEING: Surveillance, Acquisition, Tracking and Kill Assessment; Optical Tractor.
4. TRW: Directed Energy Weapons; The Alpha Chemical Laser The DARPA Triad Experiment; High-energy Laser; Space Survivability and Surveillance; the MX;
5. EG&G: X-Ray Laser; Nuclear Power Generation; Electro-optics;
6. McDONNEL DOUGLAS: Survivability; Lethality, and Key Technologies (SLKT) program; High endoatmospheric discrimination;
7. GENERAL ELECTRIC/RCA: 100-300 kilowatt-plus Nuclear Reactor; SP-100 Space-based nuclear reactor program;
8. ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL: Alpha prototype space-based laser; KEW technology; DEW technology; DARPA Air Force Teal Ruby sensor experiment, designed to test infrared mosaic sensors technology in space; laser vulnerability tests;
9. GENCORP: Precursor Above the Horizon Sensor (PATHS); Antimatter;
10. TELEDYNE BROWN ENGINEERING INC.: System engineering technical assistance contractor (SETAC); Surveillance computers.

This enumeration also points out the total lack of competitiveness of Black businesses. As far as the American economic mainstream is concerned in this forum, Blacks are not even sub-subcontractors. Thus, the military budget represents a "double whammy" for Blacks — ignoring them in domestic as well as defense spending.

CONCLUSION

Recruitment, re-education and retention of Blacks in business requires that collaborative networks of government, business and community organizations be institutionalized and given efficient and effective, enforcement powers. Such organizations, specifically directed towards empowering Blacks economically, could be an integral part of any "Urban Enterprise Zone" which may be forthcoming from the new Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, The Honorable Jack Kemp. Such an idea is not new in Cleveland, During the 1960s, there was a Cleveland Hometown plan which carried out these functions.

And once again I want to emphasize the importance of my Pooling Principle to future Black entrepreneurs in Cleveland. The lottery makes a handful of millionaires in Ohio each year. Just think how many millionaires and very comfortable Black entrepreneurs could be made in Cleveland alone if this venture capital principle could be applied more and more. It could have a profound inpact on the economic state of Black Cleveland.

The Role of the Financial Institutions in Building Black Entrepreneurship

By Steven M. Sims
Managing Consultant, Minority Economic Development Department
Greater Cleveland Roundtable

"Few persons alive can finance a Center City intermediate care nursing home, help the small business get started or stay alive, or provide financing for a child care center. . . Yet, First Bank can do this job for you — with your support."

excerpt — John H. Bustamante,
Founder, First Bank National Association
First letter to Shareholders, March 26, 1975

This noteworthy statement not only captures high ideals, but it also expresses in no uncertain terms the benefit of controlling an institution which has the capacity to effect meaningful improvement in the life situation of a community's citizens.

Banks hold significant control over the fate of our communities. The decision to provide or withhold credit from an area will influence its growth, stagnation or decline. A pro-active approach toward a community can stimulate development, while a passive approach can cause it to drift or deteriorate.

The importance of banks and other financial institutions responsive to the needs of the Black community cannot be overemphasized. In this discussion, the uniquely important role of the Black-owned financial institute in facilitating economic opportunities will be stressed. Alternatively, the focus of the discussion concerning majority-owned institutions will center upon management opportunities and the work environment for Blacks in the industry. For the purposes of this chapter, Black-owned financial institution means "bank"; while references to majority-owned financial institutions include banks and savings and loan (S&L) companies.

A STRONG PAST; AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Cleveland has a rich tradition of financial institutions owned and controlled by Black Americans. Unfortunately, the future seems to hold little promise for a continuing role for these institutions in Black community development. Over the past few years, Cleveland has witnessed the closing of the city's only remaining Black-owned savings and loan. Further, the continued existence of its only Black-owned bank is seriously threatened. As a result, the universe of Black-

owned financial institutions here has been reduced to a handful of church credit unions having limited financing ability and to "money exchanges" which have no obligation to local reinvestment and no commitment to the economic growth and development of the Black community.

This set of circumstances is not unique to Cleveland, however. In its June 1980 issue, *Black Enterprise Magazine* listed forty-eight Black-owned banks and forty-one savings and loans doing business in the United States. By June 1987, there were only thirty-three banks (excluding six founded since 1980) and thirty-three savings and loans. In a mere seven years, twenty-three Black-owned financial institutions have ceased to exist.

Similarly, a wave of mergers and failures has dramatically reduced the ranks of majority-own financial institutions in recent years. It therefore would appear that Black-owned institutions in Cleveland are simply going the way of the industry in general. However, these institutions figure too prominently in the equation for the developing of an economic base in the Black community. The implications of the loss of viable Black-owned financial institutions are too far reaching simply to accept this as irreversible.

First, the success or failure of the majority-owned institution seldom hinges on how well it penetrates and serves its Black market. Also, a perception of high risk and low potential apparently fosters an attitude of indifference toward Blacks among the majority institutions. As such, absent the presence of a Black-owned financial institution, the credit needs of the typical Black consumer are more likely to go wanting or unserved.

Second, the loss of viable Black-owned financial institutions sharply reduces the opportunities for Blacks to participate in executive level, senior policy making and/or Board of Director positions.

Third, Black-owned financial institutions foster greater economic opportunity for a group of minority entrepreneurs such as real-estate brokers, appraisers, and legal and business professionals. These entrepreneurs would likely find themselves locked-out of growth opportunities and with significantly less business should they have to rely solely on majority-owned institutions to support or finance their activities.

The article "Marketing Bank Services to Blacks" by Pravote K. Choudhury which appeared in the *Journal of Bank Research* in the Spring 1978 issue, concludes that "...the purpose of a bank is not to lend money but to satisfy needs, make college education possible, build sound businesses, finance, improve or build homes, provide opportunity for employment and contribute to economic growth and development." The same article notes that "...The monetary side of the [Black] market is characterized by lack of availability of capital, general credit, restrictions. . .and a prevailing attitude of hesitation even to approach or request loans from commercial banks for fear of being turned down." Although the article is dated, its premise is no less valid today and financial conditions and the attitude of Blacks toward banks generally remains the same.

THE ROLE OF THE BLACK-OWNED BANK

Clearly, there is a special role that Black-owned financial institutions can play in bridging the credit gap and satisfying the banking needs of the Black consumer. Further, the overriding issue becomes: what would be the range of community economic development and bank management opportunities for Blacks without ownership or control of financial institutions sensitive to their needs? If the recently reported disparities in mortgage loan approval rate, bank management employment levels and the unfounded difficulties Blacks have securing financing for business ventures in Cleveland and across the country are any indication, then Blacks face ever-increasing hurdles. The existence of viable Black-owned financial institutions has become critical.

A key premise of the Black bank has been to help Black people understand how to make their savings work for themselves and their community by starting new businesses, constructing housing and developing cultural resources. Black-owned financial institutions in Cleveland also ensure a greater turnover of dollars within the Black community.

In a 1980 survey conducted by *Black Enterprise Magazine*, inadequate financial backing was cited as the main problem facing Black businesses by 77.3 percent of the respondents. Yet, the same survey showed little enthusiasm for Black banks. While 41.8 percent of the respondents reported having access to a Black-owned bank, only 31.3 percent of this group said they used a Black bank. Another main problem facing Black businesses (cited by 58.5 percent of the respondents) was the "lack of support from Blacks". A second survey conducted in 1985 yielded similar results.

This represents an interesting and contradictory combination of facts. Blacks are aware that gaining access to capital and financing is a historical problem of a perplexing nature. Blacks further recognize that failure to support their own institutions is a major problem facing Black businesses. However, the one institution which, potentially at least, could represent a source of financial backing — the Black bank — has not received enthusiastic support.

In remarks delivered in Cleveland, Ohio on October 11, 1986, (*The Outlook for Black Businesses)* Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer a former member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, traced the fact that Black firms are capturing a decreasing share of Black consumer expenditures to "...Blacks spending their money on a widening pattern of goods and services not supplied by Black firms" and ". . . moving to the suburbs while Black businesses remain concentrated in older neighborhoods of central cities." Dr. Brimmer also said that "...a similar pattern exists with respect to the financial landscape. As incomes rise, the amount of savings done by Blacks is also increasing. Yet, very little of these savings are being deposited in Black-owned banks."

The main obstacle for Black-owned financial institutions has been and remains a lack of capital to support expanded business levels and the historical head start most majority institutions enjoy. These obstacles have been further com-

pounded by the deregulation and restructuring of the industry, which have significantly reduced the profit opportunity. The concept of adequate capital suggests an amount sufficient to absorb temporary and unexpected losses which arise from borrower default, massive deposit withdrawals, uninsured losses and inefficiencies and management errors.

According to an article appearing in *The Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta-Economic Review (November 1983)*, "...the composition of a bank's market and the competition within this market will affect capital. A stable institution with an established market share probably will not sustain the losses that a new player in the same market will experience." This comes very close to explaining some of the problems First Bank faces. As it is the only remaining Black-owned financial institution in the Greater Cleveland area it is instructive to examine its problems and prospects.

FIRST BANK: A CASE IN POINT

First Bank has attempted to provide banking services with an awareness and responsiveness to the needs of the Black community. This orientation probably has provided certain competitive advantages, but it has definitely increased the bank's risk profile. The bank is committed to providing greater credit access to a group which otherwise might not have it.. As such, First Bank is likely to find itself entertaining customer relationships which other institutions would generally not consider or would have declined. And while the bank holds each borrower to certain normal credit standards, its mission requires that it seek ways to overcome disqualifying factors. It is this orientation which distinguished First Bank from all other area institutions. The bank's approach makes it more a "development bank" and perhaps its performance should more appropriately be measured by the standards of development banks versus those of traditional commercial banks

First Bank has also confronted intense competitive pressures in a contracting market since its very inception in 1974. The bank is unquestionably a new player and has not developed a meaningful market share nor established a long-standing franchise with its customers. Further, the market segment which necessarily provided the bank its entree into business has never quite recovered from the economic downturn of the early 1980s! This has resulted in high levels of loan defaults and a near total erosion of the bank's capital base.

Certain internal difficulties also figure importantly into First Bank's troubled condition. The bank has been limited by its small size and lack of the necessary resources to properly promote various products and services. In addition, the bank has obviously experienced problems building a strong management team due to its inability to attract and retain trained banking professionals. Other internal issues relate to bank controls and procedures, management reporting systems, and the need to increase loan and deposit volume, cut costs, expand non-interest expense opportunities and improve customer service.

The view that the causes of the bank's lower profitability (in comparison with other banks operating in the same Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area—SMSA) are poor underwriting and excessive operating costs is disputed by research in the November 1988, issue of the *Economic Review* published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. In a paper, "The Performance of Black-owned Banks In Their Primary Market Area," the author, Robert T. Clair, indicates that the SMSA is too broad an area of measurement to be sure that Black-owned and majority-owned banks serve the same primary market. The research shows no difference in loan losses and operating expense ratios when the performance of eleven Black-owned banks and sixteen majority banks were compared by zip code area. The analysis indicates that previously reported differences actually represented locational effects of saving an urban market that are unrelated to Black-ownership.

Significantly, a principal goal and driving force of First Bank has been to assure that every qualified person, especially Blacks and disadvantaged groups within the market it serves, could purchase a primary residence. This is most often accomplished through providing Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) financing. Most of First Bank residential real-estate customers are minority and similarly situated persons.

Oftentimes, great diligence and concern are needed to help first time home-buyers understand what is required of them to demonstrate qualification for mortgage financing. This can be a time consuming process. Many Ohio financial institutions have chosen to de-emphasize this market and FHA/VA mortgage products because of the considerable work involved in processing the applications. This being the case, the reality of home ownership for many is truly the result of First Bank's presence in the market.

In the three year period (1983-1986), First Bank became one of Ohio's largest FHA/VA lenders. Approximately one-third of First Bank's loan portfolio has been dedicated to serving these customers who might have had difficulty qualifying under normal credit criteria. Of its $36 million loan portfolio at June 30, 1987, $9.6 million were FHA loans, $2.8 million were Small Business Administration (SBA) loans and $1.3 million were VA loans for a total of $13.7 million. In 1987 alone, the bank financed $16.5 million in FHA/VA mortgage. These loans were concentrated substantially in the inner-city and close-in suburbs of Greater Cleveland. These statistics highlight the practical benefit to the community at-large, as well as the Black community of having a Black-owned financial institution.

First Bank has also been a catalyst in encouraging majority institutions to undertake initiatives intended to provided more service to Black consumers and create expanded career opportunities for Blacks within these institutions. In part, this is evidenced by the pace at which larger banks have begun to establish development banks, community development corporations (CDC) and bank departments with the express purpose of emphasizing small business development and low-cost housing loans.

It is an important fact that, for the most part, these organizations have chosen

to engage in business development and lower-cost housing loans through separate operating entities. This suggests that there is a recognition that the characteristics of this business are sufficiently different from their normal business as to warrant a separate system of management, reporting and performance measurement. This further supports the thesis that Black-owned banks generally experience higher loan losses and operating expenses, because of the characteristics of the market served rather than as a result of inept management.

National City Bank and Society Bank operate CDC's, while similar activities at Huntington Bank are governed by its public policy committee. AmeriTrust formed a development bank in 1986. Mr. John Kolesar, President and CEO of the development bank, indicated in *Crain's Cleveland Business, July 18, 1988* that *now* AmeriTrust is "virtually unprotestable" by community groups that complain that banks don't invest enough in low-income areas. Interestingly, he sees AmeriTrust Development Bank's strength in the backing of one of Ohio's largest bank holding companies. It is this type of backing which Black-owned banks do not have. The lack of capital backing is an obvious roadblock for the Black-owned financial institution.

BLACK PROFESSIONALS IN BANK MANAGEMENT

It has only been within the past twenty years, following the social revolution of the late 1960s, that Blacks have been brought into managerial and professional level positions in banking. Some progress has been made since then, but progress has been slow and uneven. Moreover, the representation of Blacks within the management ranks of American industry in general, and the banking industry in particular, remains unjustifiably low.

Based upon current representation of Blacks within the ranks of majority-owned institutions, there appears to be a goal of having only one Black with any authority or apparent potential for further advancement at successive levels of management. Only the largest institutions seem to practice this philosophy. The others have no recognizable commitment to creating management opportunities for Blacks at all.

Traditionally, the disparities in employment levels have been attributed to labor market difficulties. The idea was that qualified Blacks could not be found for the jobs that existed. However, such arguments are less convincing as the number of young, well educated Blacks with quality training and experience swells. It is clear that institutions continue to practice patterns of discriminatory hiring and promotion.

There is substantial documented evidence of discrimination in the workplace and the banking industry is no exception. Some of the more extensive studies include: Glegg and Watson (1982); America and Anderson (1987); Dickens and Dickens (1972); Fernandez (1975); and Theiboit (1970). Edward Irons and Gilbert Moore combined empirical study and qualitative analysis to highlight the working environment of most money center commercial banks and its impact on Black

professionals in their 1985 book, *Black Managers: The Case of The Banking Industry.*

Statistics are drawn from sixteen years of EEOC labor records, interviews with 125 Black bankers in the major U.S. cities, and a survey of 1,000 Black banking professionals. The results showed that, overall, the group felt engaged in highly stressful, stagnant and unsatisfying careers. Fully, eight out of ten respondents felt their chances for promotion were not as good as those for their White counterparts. The study also revealed evidence of discriminatory employment practices with regard to hiring, promotions, and compensation of Blacks – both male and female.

Irons and Moore reported that in 1981 approximately 12 percent of the people employed in the banking industry were Black Americans. However, they stated that "this statistic camouflages a multitude of disparities with regard to the distribution of job functions within the industry." They also report that of all bank management jobs, 1.9 percent were held by Black males in 1981 – a mere 1.6 percent increase over the 1966 figure—and 2.4 percent of the bank management jobs were held by Black women in 1981 which reflected a 1.5 percent increase over the sixteen year period. Further, there appears to be no evidence of substantial gains relative to the employment levels of Blacks at banks in technical, managerial, and professional positions, today.

As might be expected, it is difficult to obtain the information necessary to conduct a proper analysis and render an assessment of the hiring and promotion performance of Cleveland area majority-owned financial institutions as it relates to Blacks. Accordingly, comments about the representation and progress of Blacks at these institutions are informed opinion based upon observation, personal experience, and extrapolations from published research about the performance of the industry as a whole.

As is the case throughout the United States, the banking industry in Cleveland continues to hire and promote Blacks in areas which are widely viewed as demanding less skills than other areas and where the "risks" involved are such that a mistake doesn't matter as much. This reflects the long-held perception that Blacks are less capable than Whites. It also reflects the mind-set that a person must fit a certain image for a job. And since a White person generally will not see a Black person as having the same image, Blacks are not seen as having the "right" image more often than not.

The *American Banker*, June 30, 1987, reported that according to the National Association of Urban Bankers (a Black bankers' organization), "...one obstacle to high-level advancement is that executives are promoted to senior management on the basis of cultural similarities rather than capability alone." The perception of one's social connections and/or the ability to develop significant business relationships, are important reasons why opportunities for Blacks in banking have been limited.

The study by Irons and Moore provides important insight into the way Blacks view their opportunities at banks. When asked, "I believe that banking affords

more and varied opportunities for Minority Americans than do most (other industries)", only 46 percent of the respondents agreed. Further, only 20 percent perceived the opportunities afforded minorities the same as for Whites in the industry. There was a unanimous belief that a mentor is necessary if one is to move beyond the lower middle management level in the industry. However, the respondents were equally unanimous in their perception that "most Blacks do not have mentors in the industry." This is further manifested in the expressed belief that the most significant problems faced by Blacks in the industry are "not knowing what is going on in the organization" and not having access to the communication network.

While the Irons and Moore research does not specifically cite the responses of Blacks working at Cleveland banks, there is no doubt that, had the study been conducted here, the results would have been similar. Further, because Cleveland is a smaller regional market with fewer opportunities to offer, the feelings of stress, stagnation, and dissatisfaction are likely to be magnified. These conditions produce employees who appear less motivated and productive than would otherwise be the case. This in turn fuels the perception that Blacks are not suited for challenging positions in banking.

Ameritrust has demonstrated the greatest commitment to providing opportunities in all areas and at all levels for Blacks. Yet, for many, these opportunities have been short-lived. Ameritrust, like other area banks, appears to have a particular problem retaining Blacks hired into its Corporate Banking lending areas. A part of the problem seems to be that top management's apparent commitment to equal employment opportunities is not widely shared at middle-management levels. Nevertheless, Ameritrust has clearly opened more opportunities to Blacks than the other major financial institutions in the city.

PRINCIPLES FOR PROGRESS

The lay of the land in banking is a difficult one for Blacks in Cleveland, as it is across the country. The commitment of area banks and S&L's to greater opportunities for Blacks in the industry is not so clear. The banks each have a few Blacks in highly visible positions, but are not perceived as generally having aggressive hiring and promotion goals. At best, the S&L's appear to be indifferent to the spirit of equal employment opportunities.

The time has come for the industry to provide technical, managerial and professional opportunities to Black at a level more representative of their numbers in our society. There should be visible and meaningful participation in all areas and at all levels. It is no longer acceptable to have only a few highly-placed Blacks for public relations purposes. Where top management is committed, this commitment must be institutionalized throughout the organization, right down to the first line supervisors. Where the commitment is not obvious, it should be made apparent. Only then, will the type of environment exist where all employees are motivated, and satisfied with their advancement prospects. This will allow the

greatest contribution possible to the growth of the organization.

Although the general picture is not what it could be, Cleveland can boast of a few impressive cases where Blacks have risen to top bank management positions. *Ameritrust*: Charles Thigpen, Vice President Greater Cleveland Region I Administration; Janice Smith, Vice President – Check and Document Processing; William J. Smith, Vice President – Small Business, Region II; Gary Washington, Vice President – Ameritrust Development Bank; and Rita Williams, Vice President – Human Resources. *Society Bank*: Jerome McClain, President – Society Community Development Corporation and Vice President – Corporate Community Relations; Ruben Halloway, President – Cleveland District Banking; John W. Moody, Jr., Senior Vice President – Loan Administration; and Janet Bullard, Senior Vice President – Human Resources. *National City Bank*: Danny A. Cameron, President – National City Community Development Corporation and Vice President – Public Affairs; Edward Christian, Vice President – Metropolitan Division; Doris Brooks, Vice President – Branch Administration; and Charles Spain, Esquire, Vice President – Legal. *Bank One*: Bracy Lewis, Vice President – Community Reinvestment Officer.

In order to develop and retain Black management talent, top management must consider initiating techniques to ensure that Black managers are a part of the all-important communication network. The quality of supervision of Black managers must be improved. Personnel management and those who have direct supervision of Blacks must define and regularly communicate career development plans. There must be a commitment to moving Blacks into more "risky" roles. Every effort must also be made to eliminate pre-conceived notions about the ability of Blacks to develop significant business relationships or transcend cultural differences and social definitions. Further, mentoring should be an integral part of the overall development process.

Insofar as Black-owned financial institutions are concerned, Cleveland cannot afford to be deprived of the value such an institution brings to the city. There is no doubt about the important role that a First Bank plays in Black economic development as well as providing employment opportunities in areas and at management levels uncommon in majority-owned institutions. Black-owned institutions therefore have a greater obligation to operate in such a way that their viability is not threatened. Further, there must be a commitment to a planned and orderly succession of management. This ensures that the responsibility for the legacy of these institutions is transfered to those persons whose contributions, loyalty, and demonstrated commitment to the philosophy of a self-sufficient Black community proves them the most deserving.

Fortunately for Cleveland, none of the problems which threaten First Bank's viability is insurmountable. A strategy must be developed to ensure its continuing existence, since there is a good possibility that the banking needs of the Black community will generally go wanting or unserved should the bank be rendered impotent or eliminated from the market. One aspect of such a strategy is the recent commitment by National City Bank and Ameritrust Company to invest

$3 million in First Bank through the purchase of non-voting preferred stock.

These institutions should be applauded for this gesture to help recapitalize First Bank. However, they must acknowledge the "development" role of the bank and not attempt to influence its operations in such a way that the bank's mission is no longer fulfilled. There must be a sense of broad-based community support which encourages the type of loan, deposit and fee-based relationships which will appreciably contribute to First Bank's recovery, if its prospects for success are to be improved. Yet, the viability of First Bank will ultimately be assured only when the Black community understands that First Bank *can* do a job... but not without the community's strong support.

Poverty Is Created When Jobs Leave Town

By Edwin M. Robinson, Executive Director
and George C. Zeller, Senior Researcher
Council for Economic Opportunities

Persistent and growing poverty is arguably the most serious problem facing metropolitan Cleveland. The 1988 *Poverty Indicators* report issued by the Council for Economic Opportunities in Greater Cleveland found that 275,000 residents of Cuyahoga County are currently poor; 149,000 of these residents are Black. The county's 1988 poverty rate is 19 percent. In Cleveland, 39 percent of the population are poor; 42 percent of the East Cleveland's residents are poor; and in the City if Cleveland itself, more than half of the Black population live in poverty. The County figure represents an alarming 39 percent increase in the poverty rate during the 1980s.

Blacks in Greater Cleveland bear a disproportionate share of this severe economic disadvantage. The 1980 Census reported that 27 percent of Cuyahoga County's Black population lived below the federally defined poverty level. The corresponding local White poverty rate was 6.6 percent in 1980. During the last eight years, the Black poverty rate in the County rose to a highly disturbing 43 percent. (The current local rate for Whites is 10.3 percent.) Cuyahoga is the only county in the state of Ohio where Blacks constitute a majority of the poor.

Statistics of this magnitude illustrate that there is a very serious problem in our city. Most of the other social problems discussed in this report are strongly and directly linked with these catastrophic levels of economic deprivation.

More than half of all Black children in Cuyahoga County grow up in poverty. More than 70 percent of all children attending the Cleveland Public Schools live in a poor household. Nearly half of these Cleveland students fail each year, and approximately half of them never graduate from high school.

The poor, Black neighborhoods of Cleveland's east side inner-city, also suffer from the County's highest incidence of other related problems such as crime, delinquency, infant mortality, illegitimacy, teenage pregnancy, and unemployment. The link between race, poverty, and many related social problems is indisputable. The denial of economic opportunity is dangerously widespread among Blacks in metropolitan Cleveland. Effective solutions to other social problems face by the Black community cannot be implemented unless they are linked with a serious effort to address the massive levels of economic hardship suffered by Blacks in this city.

Many predominantly Black neighborhoods on Cleveland's east side have deteriorated to such an extent that they suffer from virtual economic devastation. In *A Report on Population and Race*: Seventh Edition, the latest report from the Cuyahoga Plan of Ohio on the racial composition of Cuyahoga County neighborhoods, twelve of the County's ninety-four Statistical Planning Areas were found to have non-White populations that exceed 90 percent. In these twelve virtually all-Black neighborhoods, 1988 poverty rates are extremely high.

1988 NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY RATES — CUYAHOGA COUNTY
(NEIGHBORHOODS WITH OVER 90 PERCENT NON-WHITE POPULATIONS)

COUNTY POVERTY RANK	NEIGHBORHOOD	1988 POVERTY RATE%
1	Kinsman	81.6
2	Central	68.2
3	Woodland Hills	68.1
4	Hough	64.5
5	Glenville	64.0
6	Fairfax	63.5
9	Union-Miles Park	59.3
10	Forest Hills	57.6
14	Mt. Pleasant	46.8
15	Corlett	45.7
17	East Cleveland	41.6
27	Lee Miles	22.3

All of these neighborhoods suffer from poverty rates that significantly exceed the 19 percent Cuyahoga County average. The list contains the county's six poorest neighborhoods, as well as eight of the county's ten poorest Statistical Planning Areas. Almost half of Cuyahoga County's 275,000 poor persons live in the twelve nearly all Black neighborhoods.

Three additional neighborhoods currently have non-White population percentages between 70 percent and 90 percent. The poverty rates in these neighborhoods are somewhat lower than those in the twelve nearly all-White neighborhoods. However, among neighborhoods with at least 1,000 poor persons in Cuyahoga County, these 70-90 percent non-White areas experienced three of the seven fastest rates of neighborhood poverty growth between 1980 and 1988.

1988 NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY RATES — CUYAHOGA COUNTY
(NEIGHBORHOODS WITH 70-90 PERCENT NON-WHITE RESIDENTS)

COUNTY POVERTY RANK	NEIGHBORHOOD	1988 POVERTY RATE %	1980-1988 % INCRSE. IN POVERTY	RANK BY % INCREASE IN POVERTY 1980-1988
18	Buckeye-Shaker	41.6	108.5	2
23	Euclid-Green	33.2	170.5	1
37	Warrensville Heights	11.9	77.9	7

Three additional neighborhoods have current non-White population percentages between 50 percent and 70 percent. The County's eighth poorest neighborhood, St. Clair-Superior, is on this list.

1988 NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY RATES — CUYAHOGA COUNTY
(NEIGHBORHOODS WITH 50-70 PERCENT NON-WHITE RESIDENTS)

COUNTY POVERTY RANK	NEIGHBORHOOD	1988 POVERTY RATE %
8	St. Clair-Superior	59.3
20	University	36.4
34	Woodmere	15.7

Poverty within small portions of a neighborhood can often be accounted for by concentrations of Blacks. Within the St. Clair-Superior neighborhood, the two poorest census tracts (1118 and 1119) are predominately non-White. These aeas (roughly bounded by Superior Avenue, East 79th Street, East 99th Street, and Parkgate Avenue) suffer from the highest poverty rates in St. Clair-Superior.

1988 POVERTY RATE AND 1986 NON-WHITE %'s
ST. CLAIR-SUPERIOR NEIGHBORHOOD CENSUS TRACT STATISTICS

CENSUS TRACT	1986% NON-WHITE	1988 POVERTY RATE%
1112	41	52.7
1113	22	74.5
1115	15	39.3
1116	29	47.5
1117	37	49.5
1118	85	79.1
1119	95	76.1

These statistics illustrate several disturbing points. Over half of Cuyahoga County's poor people live in neighborhoods that are predominately Black. In fourteen of the county's twenty poorest neighborhoods, more than half of the population is Black. Although Blacks constitute only about 27 percent of Cuyahoga

County's population, over 54 percent of the county's poor people are Black. Most of these poor Blacks live in rigidly segregated neighborhoods on Cleveland's east side, or in Cleveland's northeastern and southeastern inner-ring suburbs. In two nearly all-Black neighborhoods on Cleveland's far east side, poverty rates more than doubled during the 1980s.

It should be noted that local poverty is not an exclusively Black phenomenon. The 1988 Hispanic poverty rate in Cuyahoga County exceeds 31 percent. Among the county's White population, 112,000 persons are poor. Nevertheless, it is clear that Blacks bear an alarmingly disproportionate share of the severe economic disadvantage evident in local poverty statistics.

THE CAUSES OF UNCONSCIONABLE POVERTY

What has caused this highly disturbing situation? Although the causes of poverty are highly complex, Volume Six of CEOGC's *Poverty Indicators* identifies the most important factors. A rapid major change in metropolitan Cleveland's economic base heads the list. Since 1979, almost one-third of greater Cleveland's manufacturing production jobs have permanently disappeared. The loss of these 58,000 blue collar jobs, many of which paid above-average wages, has been a local catastrophe. In the past, persons with few technical and professional skills could find jobs as well-paid workers in local factories. This has always been the mainstay of the local economy. It accounted for the County's rapid population growth between 1850 and 1950, both among Blacks and among White ethnic immigrants. This career path is disappearing before our eyes. Blacks who have dropped out of school, or who performed poorly in school, have been increasingly cut off from the economic mainstream of northern Ohio.

CEOGC's 1988 *Poverty Indicators* report also found that Blacks suffer disproportionately from economic disadvantage, *even when their educational levels are taken into account*. The County's poorest residents live in households that are headed by a female parent, regardless of race or educational level. After female-headed households, race is the second most powerful demographic predictor of poverty in Cuyahoga County neighborhoods. Even after the effects of household composition and educational background are taken into account, Blacks still have poverty rates that are much higher than those suffered by Whites, *regardless* of their levels of educational attainment.

These findings from multivariate statistical research are complicated, but they have very serious local policy implications. It is clear that Blacks in Cuyahoga County have unacceptably high poverty rates. These high rates cannot be completely explained by the fact that many poor Blacks lack advanced educational credentials that are increasingly necessary in the local labor force. Those Blacks who possess educational credentials that are equivalent to those held by Whites still suffer from significantly higher probabilities of being poor. This fact, when considered along with the rigid patterns of racial segregation still evident in local housing, supports the conclusion that discrimination remains a major

cause of Black economic disadvantage in metropolitan Cleveland.

Persons who fall into two or more high-risk groups suffer two knock-out blows. In Cleveland's predominately Black neighborhoods, well in excess of two-thirds of all persons living in households headed by a female are poor. The Cleveland economy suffered severe damage from the recession of the early 1980s, and the entire region suffered from this blow. The economic prospects of many demographic groups improved following the end of this recession, but persons in the double knock-out groups have been virtually cut off from the local economic mainstream. Children, whose poverty rates significantly exceed those of older age groups, are particularly victimized by this economic hardship.

A sizeable proportion of the general public has accepted the hypothesis that since Black poverty rates are so high, the movement of Blacks into newly integrated neighborhoods inevitably leads to neighborhood deterioration. However, data in the current Cuyahoga Plan and Council for Economic Opportunities reports clearly show that racial integration *does not* lead inexorably to poverty increases in Cuyahoga County. The correlation between 1980-1986 non-White population increases and 1980-1988 poverty increases is virtually zero in both the County's ninety-four neighborhoods and its 379 census tracts. The hypothesis that neighborhood in-migration by Blacks causes inevitable neighborhood deterioration is not supported by evidence. Nevertheless, in the nearly all-Black inner city areas of Cleveland's east side, many neighborhoods *have* been utterly devastated. Astonishingly high poverty rates, massive population losses, high crime rates, and many other related problems have created an utterly unacceptable situation in these neighborhoods.

The extent of Black political influence has increased considerably in Cleveland during the last twenty years. This has been a very positive development. However, this vigorous local political representation has not solved the massive problems of local Black economic disadvantage. Broad social and economic forces have overwhelmed the local political forces. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*'s July 23, 1988 edition contained an excellent demographic analysis on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Glenville riots. Despite dramatically improved political access by Blacks in Glenville during these twenty years, the populations of Glenville declined by 42 percent during that period. The Glenville poverty rate increased from 27 percent to 64 percent between 1970 and 1988. Although increased Black political influence has been quite beneficial to neighborhoods like Glenville, it remains clear that the local political system cannot solve the problems of severe and increasing poverty by itself.

What *can* be done about this massive and entrenched problem? The poverty research program at the Council for Economic Opportunities in Greater Cleveland has documented the magnitude and neighborhood distribution of Cuyahoga County's growing population of the poor. In addition, this research has identified the major causes of economic disadvantage among both the Black and White population of Cleveland. Effective solutions to the local poverty crisis will require concerted attacks on these causes. The problem is deep and entrenched, so the

effort will necessarily be complex and difficult.

The most important cause of Cleveland's poverty growth during the 1980s has been its recent massive losses in blue collar employment. There is a critical need for metropolitan Cleveland to take a serious and comprehensive look at the changing local economy. If progress is to be made toward poverty reductions, Cleveland must rebuild its local economic base, with particular attention to job development for those individuals whose skills have not been in demand in the job market. The days when very large numbers of unskilled workers could build secure careers in local factories are over. The local labor market has not provided a new niche for these displaced workers. Blacks have been disproportionately affected by this trend in Cleveland. There is an urgent need for creative work toward a rebuilding of the local economy in such a way that productive employment will exist for this segment of the local labor force. The problem is so serious that it should command the vigorous attention of the local corporate, political, and academic communities.

SEEKING SOLUTIONS

The fresh and vigorous look at our local economy must examine components. First, the trends that have caused the erosion of the city's traditional base of adequate-wage jobs for the unskilled and semi-skilled must be reversed. This will be an extraordinarily difficult task, since the economic trends have been nationwide, and are not unique to Cleveland. The unskilled have a need for jobs, but jobs that do not require specialized skills are disappearing rapidly. At the same time, there is a need for training programs that will provide the poor with the job skills that they will need if they are to be productive in a changing labor market. This process will also be extraordinarily difficult. The local public school system confronts serious problems that have been widely recognized. Adult job training programs have been notoriously underfunded, and are quite difficult to effectively design and operate. Nevertheless, a rebuilding of both the local economy and the local skilled labor force are necessary prerequisites for the reduction of poverty among Cleveland's Blacks.

A major change in family structures has also contributed to local economic disadvantage among Blacks. In Cuyahoga County, the poverty for household headed by a female is *seven times higher* than the poverty rate for two parent households. At least 42 percent of all Black families in Cleveland are headed by a female. (The White percentage is 19 percent, but the gap between the races has been narrowing). Two wage earners in a family are increasingly necessary for the maintenance of a middle class living standard in the United States. For a number of economic, social, and cultural reasons, a very sizeable proportion of local Black families are headed by a single parent. Given this trend in Black family structure, coupled with high Black unemployment rates and the fact that women still earn considerably less than men in the labor force, a sizeable minority of local Black families do not have even **one** income that is sufficient to rise above the poverty level.

The family structure problem is quite complex, and it has been controversial for decades. It is associated with problems of family formation, such as an unbalanced sex ratio (only 80 Black men in Cleveland for every 100 Black women aged 15-44) among young Black adults, high unemployment rates among young Black males, and high rates of problems such as poverty, teen pregnancy, incarceration, and illegitimacy. It is also related to family breakup problems, represented by high divorce rates, undesirably low child support payment rates, etc. The problem is as much a *result* of high poverty rates as it is a continuing *cause* of future economic disadvantage. Effective remedies to this dilemma have been elusive.

The general problem of racism, manifested by prejudice toward Blacks and discrimination against them, is also a contributor to the high rates of Black poverty. Even when family structure, education, and similar social variables are taken into account, Blacks remain poorer than whites. Black high school graduates are more likely to be poor than white high school graduates in Cuyahoga County. Greater Cleveland's residential housing patterns, as well as most of the County's public school systems, remain highly segregated. Until racial discrimination is eradicated at the local level, race will continue to be correlated with poverty in Cleveland. However, effective solutions to local problems of racial prejudice and discrimination have also been highly elusive.

The distribution of wealth and income has been gradually shifting in the United States as a whole during the decade. Inequality has increased during the period. In oversimplified terms, the rich have gotten richer, and the poor have gotten poorer. There are many complex reasons for this. Blacks (and the poor in general) had a disproportionately small portion of the country's wealth to begin with. The distribution of incomes has also shifted recently because of changes in the occupational structure of the United States. The position of this country in the international economy is also changing, which has been a factor in local blue collar job loses. In addition, the real value of the hourly minimum wage has been lowered from $3.35 in 1981 to its current value of $2.49. This has tended to depress wages near the bottom of the income distribution. Blacks have been adversely impacted by these national trends. Cleveland is obviously a part of the national economy. There is probably very little that can be done about this situation at the local level.

During a time when Black poverty has substantially increased, programs that are designed to ameliorate and reduce poverty have not been given priority at the national or state level. The poverty rate **increased** by 44 percent in the City of Cleveland between 1980 and 1988. During that time, Cuyahoga County's anti-poverty Community Services Block Grant allocation was **reduced** by 58 percent. The percentage of Cuyahoga County's poor children served by funded Head Start slots fell from 33 percent in 1980 to 25 percent in 1988. The real value of Ohio's cash public assistance benefits fell significantly during the decade. Anti-poverty efforts have been scaled back at both the federal and state levels during the last several years. If levels of Black economic disadvantage are to be reduced, a

reorienting of priorities will be necessary at several levels of government.

CONCLUSION

The Council for Economic Opportunities' 1988 *Poverty Indicators* report concluded that "...Cleveland currently suffers from a very serious poverty crisis." Blacks suffer from a scandalously disproportionate share of this crisis. The causes of the problem are complex, but they are known. We therefore know what must be done if progress is to be made toward solving the problem. We need to rebuild our local economy, provide better vocational training, reduce income inequality, diminish the negative effects of racism and sexism, deal with the changing demographic structure of Black families, and, reorganize our local, state, and national priorities. This immense task can be successfully accomplished only if there is broad participation in a major new effort to address all of these causes of poverty by local neighborhood residents, corporate leaders, foundations, universities, political officials, and our entire community. Without this major new commitment toward addressing the issue, it is very likely that the next "State of Black Cleveland" report will continue to find the Blacks in metropolitan Cleveland suffering from outrageously high levels of economic disadvantage.

EDUCATIONAL STATE

Invest in the Front Side of Life: From Conception to Kindergarten

By C.J. Prentiss, M.Ed.
Member, State of Ohio Board of Education

Enough is known for action . . . an even start!

INTRODUCTION

American schools have always had a label for the students it fails to reach.

In the late 1950s we labeled students who would probably have difficulty completing high school as underprivileged. In the 1960s these same students were called disadvantaged. In the 1970s these students were called socially and economically deprived. And, when in 1983 a study commissioned by the United States Department of Education was released, entitled "A Nation At Risk," these same students — disadvantaged, underprivileged, socially, and economically deprived — were called at-risk.

Whatever the label, we have always been able to describe who these children are. The majority of these children are poor or minority. **The majority of these children come from households with only one parent. The majority of these childrens' parents have been miseducated and dropped or pushed out of our public school systems. And more increasingly, these children belong to teenage mothers.**

In Cleveland, as in all urban communities through out the United States, the percentage of children of color who are poor far exceeds that of White children. Nationally, almost half of our Black children are poor; two-fifths of Hispanic children are poor; while only one-fifth of White children are poor. In Cuyahoga County 43 percent of the Black population is poor. 31.2 percent of the Hispanic population is poor, while only 10.3 percent of the White population is poor. For all three races the poverty rate is higher in Cleveland. And the child poverty rate is higher than in any other age group. In the last decade, 2.5 million children have fallen into poverty. For this day and age when we can fix almost anything, the number of poor children is increasing: almost 13 million children are poor.

In the 1960s, when the "War on Poverty" in Congress was addressed programmatically, several programs were initiated that were felt to to get to the very heart of this issue. These programs were Head Start and Adult Basic Education. The Women, Infants, and Children nutrition program (WIC) followed to make linkages between children's ability to learn and proper diet.

It was hoped that WIC would provide the nutritional needs for the expectant

mother and young child. Head Start was created to provide the necessary pre-school experience that has proven helpful in stemming the tide of school failures, especially for the at-risk child. And Adult Basic Education was supposed to train the parents of these children.

Although these programs abound in and around the the Cleveland School community, we are only serving a fraction of those in need. The Council for Economic Opportunities estimates that they are only servicing 24.9 percent of the eligible Head Start population. And while the percentage of eligible participants being served is much higher in the WIC program, 63 percent, Cleveland ranks eighth in the nation for infant mortality of Black babies.

While these programs promised hope for reaching poor Black children and removing the labels attached to predicted school failures, we in the Cleveland community have not seen the kinds of gains hoped for since their inception. In fact, we seem to be excelling to crisis proportion when we examine the end products: school failure, drop outs, teenage pregnancy, and unemployability.

We are in a state of crisis! We must address ways to expand our ability to reach our Black children and influence their home and school environments at the very earliest possible stages of their development.

The Cleveland Public Schools continue to be a mirror reflecting the state of this crisis. In 1988, 1,000 first graders were failed; there was a daily truancy rate of approximately 10,000 students; and a 48 percent drop out rate after the 9th grade. The majority of these children are African Americans. It is clear that if the Cleveland community does not respond to this crisis we well loose not only this generation but the next.

Increasingly, political and corporate leaders are recognizing the severe economic and social drain on our nation's resources by the growing number of at-risk children. Most conclude that in the long run, it is cheaper to develop strategies to educate these children than to pay for our failures in welfare, social service, and crime costs. Recently the Governor of Ohio, Richard Celeste, commissioned a study entitled Education 2000. Mr. O. Brad Butler, the Chairman of the commission and former Proctor and Gamble board chairman and vice president of the Committee for Economic Development (CED) stated, "You don't have to have a heart to take care of disadvantaged children; all you need is a head. The right kind of investment, from conception to age five, will pay back every dollar we spend at least four for one, plus interest, plus inflation. I don't know of a factory anybody can build that will give that kind of return on the investment. It is the solution to every problem that faces this country."

Educational reform advocates call for a concerted effort to influence the educational outcomes of the at-risk child. Starting at conception and taking a holistic approach to addressing the environs of these young children is the only way to stunt the growth of the problem.

Clearly, if we are to improve the education of the at-risk child we must look at all the influences on the child's life. While nutrition, parent training, pre-school and all day everyday kindergarten are essential ingredients for a solid

foundation for the child prior to entering school, self-esteem, which is seldom addressed, must be included if we are to make substantial gains at reaching the African American child. We can no longer put on the back burner or ignore the ever present data and research that speak to the need to provide young children with positive role models. We must provide them with a knowledge of African American history and an identification with role models as a means of enabling them to set higher goals and have pride in themselves. This must happen during their developmental process or formative years as they begin to give definition to self.

Preventive measures and early intervention is the key to stemming the tide of this crisis. Now let's get on with it. WE KNOW ENOUGH FOR ACTION.

This chapter *Invest in the Front Side of Life from Conception to Kindergarten*, is divided into four components. Each component examines a major area that impacts on the growth and development of a child prior to the formal schooling years. While this chapter is written to speak to the status of African Americans in Cleveland, Ohio, and calls in part for response from the Black community here, the recommendations in components A, B, and D, would enhance the quality of life for poor children of all races.

Special attention must be given to component C. The African American community of Cleveland must take lead in relating theses visions.

Component A: A case for linking proper nutrition and the capacity to learn: Providing nutritional needs to all expectant mothers and young children.

Component B: A case for empowering parents to develop their pre-school child's mind.

Component C: A case for building visions . . . role models in careers/life choices . . . role models in character.

Component D: A case for providing pre-school and mandating all-day-everyday kindergarten for all at-risk children in school systems with a high drop out rate.

Component A:

A case for linking proper nutrition and the capacity to learn: Providing nutritional needs to all expectant mothers and young children.

"Invest in the front side of life..." *Jesse Jackson, 1988*

One of the major problems of expectant mothers in poverty is that the fetus does not have enough to properly develop.

It has been proven that 50 percent of the brain cells are developed in the first three months of pregnancy. Many of our children have already fallen behind as they fall from the womb. The other 50 percent of the brain is developed over the first two years of life. These are brain cells that when fully developed, broaden the child's capacity to think critically. Many children of poverty do not have the

diet necessary to fully develop all their brain cells. The first few years often determine if the child will be able to reach his or her potential.

The Women, Infant, and Children (WIC) nutrition program provides a comprehensive nutrition program which involves education and economic support to purchase the variety and quality of food necessary to sustain the fetus, and continues economic support for nutrition once the baby is born.

Nationally, less than one-half of all eligible families receive services in the WIC nutrition program.

In building a case for nutritional needs of the expectant mother, fetus and infants, I interviewed employees in WIC program to got some sense of the status of the program in the Cleveland community.

In 1988, in the Greater Cleveland area, approximately 24,000 women, infants and children were serviced each month. This was an increase over the 1985 monthly average of 15,000 clients. The agency states that while they are at an all time high, the Greater Cleveland WIC program only services 63 percent of the eligible participants in the county. It is estimated that there are approximately 36,000 women, infants and children who qualify for WIC per month in the greater Cleveland area.

These statistics are particularly alarming because of the high number of teen pregnancies in the Cleveland community.

In 1987, 2,833 teenagers had babies in Cuyahoga County. While the majority of them were between the ages of sixteen through nineteen, 10.6 percent fell between the ages of eleven through fifteen. Of the overall number, 2,373 were unwed, and 23.9 percent were having repeat pregnancies. The children of these children tend to be born with a low birth weight. The combination of insufficient diet and low birth weight results in infant mortality rates which are higher than some countries in the Third World. Nationally, the death rate from pregnancy complications is 35 percent higher for fifteen to nineteen year-olds. In Cleveland, 1985, the total infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births a year was 14.9. Japan, Finland and Sweden each had six per thousand. France, Denmark, The Netherlands, all had eight per 1,000. Australia, Belgium, Hong Kong and Singapore all had nine per 1,000. All these countries and more have lower infant mortality rates than Cleveland. The infant mortality rate for Black Cleveland infants was eighteen per thousand in 1985.

Barbara Riley, director of the Cuyahoga County WIC program, identified several areas that are peculiar to teenage pregnancies.

1. Teenagers still deny pregnancy until *late in* their term. Most do not receive WIC during the first crucial months of pregnancy.
2. The pregnant teen does not learn about specifically identified nutritional needs of the fetus in school unless she enrolls in the GRADS (Graduation, Reality, and Dual Role Skills) program. For many students that's too late. Most do not enroll in this program until the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy.

3. There is still a tendency to rely on old wives tales. Because pregnancy is a natural process, many mothers perceive that they do not need good nutrition and health care. As a result they do not seek additional nutritional support until after the baby is born.

Although WIC employees agree that intervention and maintenance strategies on servicing expectant teens and young poor mothers is a major focus for their program, many state that more attention should be paid to preventing pregnancies.

The following is a direct quote from a service worker. "When you work in a program like mine, you can go into a clinic on any given day and see a ten, eleven, or twelve year old pregnant and thirteen and/or fourteen year olds on their second pregnancy. That's scarey...but we have got to face it. We have got to start education much earlier than we are...we must not only talk to the girls but we must talk to the boys."

Although I have concentrated on specific areas that prevent teens from participating in the WIC program and the need to pay special attention to this population, it is important to keep in mind that teen pregnancies make up only 13.2 percent of all births in Cuyahoga County.

In order to ensure that all expectant mothers and parents get the proper nutritional advice, nutritional specialists believe that every pregnant woman should be referred to the WIC program. Unfortunately many patients who see health care providers other than through public clinics, are not referred. The academy of medicine has not yet seen the need to consistently include programs offered by WIC in their literature or through their update program. If there was an aggressive referral system, plus interagency collaboration by all institutions that service pregnant mothers, nutritional specialist believe that they could make an impact on 98 percent of the babies being born.

Given referrals and collaborative efforts, there still remains at issue a need for more Federal dollars to increase services so that all who are eligible can participate.

A remaining stumbling block for those who presently participate, is the inability of clients to pay for transportation to get to and from the WIC program. Participants must keep scheduled appointments each month to pick up coupons and participate in nutritional classes. Many do not keep appointments. In addition to nutritional needs of the fetus or infant, WIC provides classes for the mother. These classes provide sessions on goal setting, planning and an overall look at what expectant mothers and parents must do to stabilize their environment. So, getting there is important.

The Cleveland community must address the following questions if we are to ensure a good nutritional foundation for the child to enhance their learning capacity.

- What do we need to do first to increase awareness of the nutritional needs of the fetus?

- Once there is a pregnancy, how do we intervene as early as possible to provide information and promote participation in the WIC nutritional program?
- How do we increase the availability of services offered by the WIC program?

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Increase public awareness of the nutritional needs of a healthy baby by:
   - beginning in the first grade, design school health programs to inform students of what is required to produce a healthy baby;
   - produce public services announcements via radio and TV on the importance of proper nutrition for pregnant mothers and infants; and,
   - create a community education campaign.
2. Increase awareness of the WIC nutritional program by:
   - providing in-service to health care providers, including private obstetricians on the services available through the WIC services through schools, community centers and other people or agencies in contact with expectant mothers.
3. Expand availability and range of services, plus participation in WIC nutritional program, by:
   - providing bus tickets for clients to use to get to and from service centers and clinics that offer WIC program;
   - increasing the number of centers beyond the east side and lower west side;
   - collaborating with agencies, such as the City Health Department, County Board of Health, Council for Economic Opportunities and others for early identification and referral; and,
   - promoting options where the mother's diet would be enhanced by giving her food to breast feed, or providing iron fortified formula for the child for the first eighteen months of life.

Component B:

A case for: Empowering parents of pre-school children to develop their child's mind to the fullest extent prior to kindergarten.

"The attitude and behaviors of the Black poor are, in fundamental terms, responses to limited life chances and their oppressed position in the society's racial-class structure." Douglas G. Glasgow, 1987.

Empowerment is very simple. What it means to me is likened to the proverb "Give me a fish and I will eat for a day ...Teach me to fish and I will eat for a lifetime."

Having worked with thousands of Head Start parents over the last five years, I have yet to work with a parent who does not want the best for his or her child. What is clear is the fact that many parents don't know what to do. They may have been told in a parenting seminar that reading is important. However if we are

going to empower parents, we need to take seriously our task of providing skills. There are very few programs that address the issue of empowerment.

Let me tell a true story to illustrate my point.

This is a story about Carol, a nineteen year-old Head Start mother. Carol was sitting in my class, the Parent/Child Pre-School Reading Program, with a seven-month-old in her arms, a two-year-old by her side and a four-year-old in the Head Start class next door. One of the first exercises I do with the Head Start parents is to ask them what they want for their children when they grow up. As they identify their wants, I list them on the board so that we can review each one separately. As I went around the table, some parents replied. "I want my child to be successful." "I want my child to be happy." "I want my child to go on to college." "I want my child to be rich." When I got to Carol she said "I do not want my children to get pregnant or have babies when they are teenagers."

I paused for a moment, then proceeded to write her want on the black board. As I proceeded with my lecture and began to make the connections between quality of life and one's ability to read, I also talked about peer pressure and the fact that sometimes we do all the right things and our children still fall off the mark. I stated, however: "If we give our children bootstraps, (bootstraps meaning, character, morals, values, a thirst for learning, principles) even though they fall, they then have something by which to pull themselves up."

At this point Carol raised her hand. "What if you are 25-years-old and you have a 5th grader who begins to get into trouble and you have not taught them these things? In fact, what are principles? What is character?" Well needless to say, I put my chalk down and began to weep on the inside. Here before my eyes was the culmination of all the literature I had read regarding intergenerational poverty in all of its facets. Here was a mother, a teenage mother, whose mother was a teenage mother, who did not have the foggiest idea of how to raise her children. She knew what she wanted, but she did know how to get it.

My class only meets seven times. I felt a sense off powerlessness to reach and be able to influence Carol. I tried. Time only will tell if our classroom discussions and exercises made an impact on Carol and her children.

There are so many Carols' out there. Most are not in any program. Most are fending for themselves, using the patterns of child rearing that they learned from their mothers, or through peer experience.

Carol and other parents I work with are reached through the Head Start Programs. There are fifty-three centers in the Cleveland community. Even though Head Start receives its renewal money based on the amount of parent participation, from center to center, the amount of participation in programs that go beyond a one time training session is scant.

We must provide serious parent training. Nationally, four out of ten Black teenage women have babies. Almost half of them are two to three grade levels behind in reading and critical thinking skills when they drop out of school. Only half of them return to finish school. Because of this they are seven times more likely to be poor and dependent on public assistance, making only 50 percent

of the income of those who first give birth in their twenties.

When we look at the role mothers must play to ensure a healthy, active intelligent baby who soon becomes a contributing young adult, that mother must be able to read, be able to talk to and stimulate the child, be able to talk to guide the child, be able to expose the child.

If not, the child falls back into an insidious cycle of poverty and intergenerational illiteracy.

We know that there are over 137,000 adults in the Greater Cleveland area who are considered functionally illiterate. Many African American children come from these homes. Johnathan Kozal, author of the book, *Illiterate America*, in his address to the United States Congress made these salient points on the plight of the illiterate parent and the effects on the child.

> These children have missed that early role modeling of parents reading for information or enjoyment, which is so necessary to start them off on the road to their own reading.
>
> These children have missed being read to every night, which researches say is the key to reading.
>
> These children have missed the trips to the library with parents because the parents are embarrassed and afraid.
>
> These children have missed the parent/school partnership because of embarrassment or fear.
>
> These children have missed parental supervision of homework curriculum or tests that we assume is the role of the parent.
>
> And finally, even when mom intuitively senses the warning signs of a deficient education, she can rarely turn that intuition into positive and helpful criticism phrased in literate and cogent terms that school officials will be likely to respect or even understand.

Clearly, not all parents fall into the category of being functionally illiterate. In fact, most parents that I have worked with can read.

However, many, if not most, are constrained by lack of exposure to experiences that allow them to feel confident as their child's first and most important teacher.

One of the most important findings in child development research is that the type of learning environment provided for them in the home is what makes the difference in the learning outcomes of the child. This is not new. It is supported in Proverbs 22: *Teach a child in the way it should go, and when he gets old he will not depart from it.* So, what we need to be about is a systemic change in tactics used to empower parents. We need to reach parents early. This may mean as early as the first visit to the clinic after the baby is born. Since the research available continues to support the fact that children born in poverty are more likely to remain in poverty and to continue to repeat the patterns of lifestyle learned from their families, we must intervene within the family. We must reach the parent with information that not only tells them what to do but also shows them how to do it.

I just picked up a pamphlet the other day entitled "Learning Begins in the Home". It has a great picture of Bill Cosby on it and inside are helpful hints on what to do. This type of brochure is readily available through the Ohio Department of Education, the Cleveland Public Schools, the health agencies, and the PTA just to name a few. There is no lack of printed information on this subject. Yet, as we squarely face this crisis, we must first admit that printed information does not get to the core of the problem. One time training sessions don't get to the core of the problem. One time TV programs don't get to the core of the problem. One time radio programs don't get to the core of the problem.

How do we empower parents to examine their present home environment, evaluate it, and change (where needed) their present behavior in relationship to providing for their child a foundation for succeeding in school? Until we address this question, and all of the ramifications that it implies, we will continue to have as we have had, 1,000 children failing in the first grade.

1. We must implement strategies that address the reality that the parent is the first and most important teacher: the parent helps to form habits; the parent helps to set values; the parent turns the child onto books; the parent provides the continuous learning environment.
2. We must also reach out for strategies that address the breakdown of the Black family. With more than two million Black families across this country that are living below the poverty level, approximately 1.5 million are headed by Black women. In Ohio in 1985, 66.4 percent of the babies born to Black mothers were single heads of households. Strategies must be employed early on to deal with joint parenting between the mother and father.
3. Linda Edwards, supervisor of early children, Cleveland Public Schools, states that we have missed the mark when we don't include parents in our plans "...parents need to be included in every stage of shaping the curriculum."

The thrust of these initiatives should be directed to empowering parents to look at and change the learning environment in the home.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Parent Empowerment Sessions (PES) must be made available to parents of at-risk children.

Parent empowerment sessions can take place almost anywhere where there are children and adults. Child care should be provided so that the parents attention can be solely on the task at hand. The most likely places for this to occur are clinics, hospitals, churches, day care or pre-school centers, public schools and neighborhood centers.

1. PES should be provided as early as possible; as early as the first clinic or hospital visit provide sessions on parenting. These sessions should include

early childhood development and what to look for at different stages of development. They should also include proper nutrition, love and care, *but in addition and most important for this area, parents should be taught how to work with the child in developing skills...communication skills; social skills; motor development skills.*

II. PES must include field trips. Often our children do not do well on standardized tests. Much of the test is framed in a way that measures what has been taught. However, language surrounding and supporting the concept assumes a level of exposure to situations to which many of our children have not been exposed. Here is a fairly typical example. A test asks this question: "There are seven boats in the bay. There are five docks on the bay. How many boats can dock?" It is a simple math problem, but if the child does not know what docks are or what a bay is, the child may get confused with this question.

Many of our children suffer from what I call a "six block radius of experience." *There should be monies available to take parents on field trips. If parents are to expand the child's vision, elaborate on the story they are reading or connect a story to concrete experiences that they themselves have had, they need to be exposed to new experiences. Field trips expose parents to the museums, the cultural centers, the automobile plants. Clearly the possibilities are endless. The point is that parents have to bring something to the table to enhance the learning environment in the home. A teenage mother, who dropped out of school at or before the ninth grade does not have much in the way of experience to draw on to teach her child.*

III. PES must be long enough. Remember we are attempting to change attitudes as well as behavior. Parent empowerment sessions must be long enough to allow the parent to test at home what is being taught in class. The parents need to have time to share the frustrations of experimenting through trial and error. The sessions must extend over a sufficient number of weeks for parents to have positive experiences with their child that change their behavior. The parents need to be able to share areas of concern with instructors and understand that they are not alone.

IV PES must address self esteem, self awareness, goal setting and planning. Parent empowerment sessions must not only deal with strategies for implementing learning environments for children but must also address the parent's self-awareness, the parent's self-esteem, and provide the skills necessary for parents to set goals and time-tables for planning their lives.

How to fund the Parent Empowerment Sessions

I. Resources: Money

1. Corporations must take the Adopt-a-School concept and adopt Head Starts for Parent Empowerment Sessions.

2. Obtain grants from local, state and Federal governments to run Parent Empowerment Sessions at neighborhood, church, and clinic centers.
3. Adult Basic Education, presently offered in most schools and outreach centers, should be expanded to include Parent Empowerment Sessions. The state legislature should fund these programs.
4. Recommendations of the Commission 2000, which include parent training, should be supported by way of the Governor's Tax initiative.

II. Resources: Human

1. Interagency collaboration for parent identification, and staff training will eliminate the duplication of services to any one client. The issue of duplication of services must be looked at carefully. Presently one client may be seen by a social worker in the Welfare Department, a nutritionist in the WIC program, and a parent counselor at the Head Start program, all of whom give her tips on parenting. Even though this re-enforces a message, it is hit and miss.
2. Any agency that works with parents of young children must train staff.
3. Ministers should solicit volunteers to take the Parent Empowerment Training Sessions. These sessions should be offered at church during Sunday School or after church.

Component C:
A case for: Building visions, Hope. . . role models in careers/life choices. . . role models in character. . .

It is my contention that children learn best when they know who they are, *their culture*, and when they know where they come from: *their heritage, their roots.*

The phrase from the National Negro Anthem written by James Weldon Johnson, summarizes my main point in this section: "*...Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us. Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us...*" When the adult African American community was introduced to Alex Haley's book, and then TV version, *Roots*, we watched and internalized the past struggles of our race, giving us a sense of beginnings, a sense of starting from somewhere, a sense of pride in struggle.

When we as adults see the hope and vision of what is possible to do and be, then our children will be grounded in this same sense of heritage and the strength of the struggle for freedom and the pride of achievement.

This process must begin at an early age. A little over a year ago it was reported on one public radio national news program that two boxes filled with dolls were delivered to a pre-school program that was attended by Black children. One box was filled with White dolls, the other box was filled with Black dolls. The report went on to state that *without exception the children first picked the White dolls to play with*. With much sadness I must report that these same findings

were evidenced many years earlier. Mary Ellen Goodman first reported these findings in her study in 1946. Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie P. Clark reported similar findings in their study in 1947 and went on to conclude that: "...When asked what they felt about White dolls the response was they were 'nice dolls' and that colored dolls 'looked bad'. " Today, forty-plus years later, we are still at the same place. This is further indication that we have much to do to progress in this arena of self-esteem.

In addition, denial of Blackness or preference for White over Black, may suggest an absence of Black images Black children can relate to or are proud to connect with. It also may suggest an absence of race pride which can only be gotten through knowledge of race struggle.

I have discussed this question in depth with well over a 1,000 parents of preschool children ages three and four in the Cleveland community from 1984 to 1988. Many report that their child selects White dolls over Black and call light-skinned siblings or cousins "White". Some have stated that their child has asked the question: "Why am I not White?"

When asked if they, the parent, had story books that have pictures of Black children, for most, the answer was no. Most, at one time or other, had copies of *Jet*, *Ebony*, *Essence* or other Black publications in the home. However, the use of these materials with their children was limited, if at all. Along with the development of self-esteem, boundaries or limits on what is possible to achieve or become is also taking place at this time. Bryan, my three-year-old grandson, reported that he did not want a certain type of toy because it was for girls. This is an indicator that role selection is taking place even at this age Bryan is influenced by what he sees, hears and is exposed to. The more parents are aware of books, songs, and TV programs that give negative messages, or messages that enforce stereotypes, the better they can limit and supplement these types of activities with exposure to positive messages. When children don't see themselves in books, the message is that they do not count. When they do, they giggle, they laugh, they connect with and they feel good.

Last week I visited three elementary schools. I asked second grade children what they wanted to be when they grew up. The majority of the Black boys wanted to be football players. This, again, suggested an absence of knowledge and/or exposure to the wide range of possibilities of career choices and also the overwhelming influence of the media as it portrays most Black men as sports figures.

Our young children form opinions of what is possible for them to achieve through exposure, and copy behavior of others. The following questions cry out for answers.

- How does the Cleveland community build a vision for the African American child that speaks to, and overrides the reality of the condition of the parent(s)?
- How do we reach children that live in King Kennedy, Carver Park, Outhwaite and the other projects or poor communities where parents don't have the resources to get to or participate in activities at culturally rich places like

the African American Museum on Crawford Road or the Karamu Theater?

- How do we erase or minimize the effects of negative role models?
- How does the Cleveland community respond to the reality that most adult African Americans have not been taught their history, have not been taught about the contributions by African Americans to the world and the United States.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

While much needs to be done to confront White devaluation of Blackness, strategies within the Black community must move to create new "significant others" for Black children.

I see this as a two-prong mandate.

1. We must provide positive role models, thus demonstrating to children careers and life choices other African Americans have made that have promoted pride, achievement and betterment of the society as a whole.
2. We must teach the lessons of past historical struggles for self determination and equality, thus demonstrating to children strategies and tactics African Americans have used to progress in a predominately Eurocentric society.

Everyone Has a Role!

1. **Role of parents.** When money is scarce and times are hard. GET A GOOD BOOK! An excellent and inexpensive way parents can begin the process of developing a strong self-esteem in their child is to read books and take the opportunity to point to pictures with Black faces in them. This gives the young child a sense of belonging, self-worth and a connection with the book. Reading these types of books also transmits the knowledge from which a Black child begins to form a definition of self.

   The following list should not be looked at as complete. Although, there are not as many Black authors and illustrators getting published as there should be, there still is a large selection of Black children's books that are not included in this list. This list is only to be used to serve as a guide.

Books that provide positive role models...demonstrating to young children careers and life choices other African American have made.

When I Grow Up, by Prince Yufuf Ali El. 1984

Black Americans of Achievement...people who served society through the excellence of their achievement, literature, art, science, industry, education, diplomacy, athletics, juris prudence and polar exploration.

A Pocketful Of Goobers, A story about George Washington Carver, by Barbara Mitchell, 1941

I Am a Man, Ode to Martin Luther King Jr. by Eve Merriam 1971

Red Light Green Light, by Margaret Wise Brown 1944

Black Science Activity Series, by Chandler White.

Poems and story books for the African American pre-school child. Books that have Black children as the main character and or Black authors and illustrators.

Black Mother Goose arranged by Elizabeth Murphy Oliver 1981

Ten, Nine, Eight by Molly Bangs

Why Mosquitoes Buzz in People's Ears by Berna Aardema, Pictures by Leo and Diane Dillon 1976

Colors Around Me, by Vivian Church 1971

Honey I Love, and other love poems by Eloise Greenfield 1978

Jafta's Mother, by Hugh Lewin 1981

Corduroy, by Don Freeman 1968

Freight Train by Donald Crews.

Mr. Monkey and the Gotcha Bird, by Walter Deal Myers 1984

Dragon Takes a Wife, by Walter Deal Myers 1972

Books that teach the lessons of past historical struggles for self determination and equality.

Africania Dorthy W. Robinson 1974

Read Along Series from New Day Press ...Struggle for Freedom by Pamela Pruitt

Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters by John Steptoe 1987

I Wish I Had an Afro by John Shearer 1970

The Hell with Dying by Alice Walker 1987

The People Could Fly, American Black Folk Tales by Virginia Hamilton 1985

Anansni the Spider a tale of the Ashanti by Jerald McDermott 1972

Spin a Soft Black Song, by Nikki Giovanni 1985

Ashanti to Zulu, African Traditions by Margaret Musgrove, Pictures by Leo and Diane Dillon 1976

Will the Real Black Family Please Stand Up? by Dr. Eleanor Engram 1985

I'm Going to Sing, Black American Spirituals, Volume Two, by Ashley Bryan 1984

These books can be found at the Cleveland Public Library, can be bought from the Islamic Books Store at 3752 Lee Road and select types can be purchased from the African American Museum. NEW DAY PRESS, which is located inside the Karamu House, has also published a series of excellent books for the young reader.

II. **Role of individuals**. As individuals, the Black professional and non-

professional community must commit to volunteerism. Role models are needed in every pre-school or Head Start program. This is especially true for men. With the increasing number of single heads of households, the absence of Black men in young children's lives who they can emulate is at crises level. In addition, field trips for children can be arranged to expose them to the wide variety of career choices that they can make. Elderly adults can also play significant roles in pre-schools. They can share stories of past struggles and accomplishments.

III. **Role of the church.** We must look at the gathering places where parents go. The overwhelming gathering place is the Black church. In addition to saving our souls, the Black church must assume the initial role for which it was established: to teach what no one else is teaching the Black community...to provide understanding of struggle — to provide tools to survive in a racist society. Ministers must agree to become educated in the knowledge of historical struggles plus past and present accomplishments of the African American in order to interweave this message in every sermon. In this way, weekly, the Black community is educated and grounded in a sense of self-worth. Clearly, the ripple effect is obvious. Once we educate adults we then influence their attitudes and subsequently influence conversation in the home and the home environment. Sunday Schools are clearly places where we can begin to bring in people of faith who can act as role models, giving children some sense of a process used to accomplish goals.

IV. **Role of the African American Museum.** The museum should provide in-service training to people and institutions influencing attitudes in young children as well as leaders whose responsibility it is to teach and have access to shaping public opinion. This museum houses more information about Black history than any other museum in Cleveland. Seminars could easily be held here to begin the process of educating the Black and White community. These educational programs can be structured to reach every segment of the population particularly those that influences attitudes. For example, ministers can receive their training at this location. Sunday School teachers, pre-school, elementary teachers, can learn how to interweave Black history in each lesson plan. The Cleveland industry of electronic and print media needs awareness sessions on what is negative and what promotes negative attitudes that further low self-esteem among Black children.

V. **Role of libraries.** Librarians should provide Afrocentric focused story-time hours and other related activities. Interagency collaboration has existed for a long time between pre-schools and the Cleveland Public Library. Pre-school agencies often have a scheduled visit with the local library at least twice a month. The library offers Head Starts, and other pre-school centers, a story hour which generally consist of a story read by the

librarian and a short film. These activities are not new, but, can be made to be Afrocentric in nature. Presently the Cleveland Public Schools have taken steps to identify with the community by having a special section entitled "Black Books" in predominately Black communities. However, if we are to influence the environs of the very young Black child, we cannot miss an opportunity to develop more Black awareness at an institution that has the information readily available and a staff capable of imparting that information.

VI. **Role of other institutions:**

a. **The State Board of Education.** This is the official body that provides guidelines and standards for what is mandated to be taught to all children in the state of Ohio and what courses are needed to receive a certificate from the state to teach in Ohio's schools. Textbooks and reading lists are also promoted through the department. In addition, if the present legislative package is approved to provide millions of dollars for pre-schools for at-risk children, the State Board of Education will lead this public industry. Therefore the State Board of Education must develop standards that recognize and overcome:
   - the deficiency of colleges of education in their preparation of teachers to interweave African American history and accomplishments through their daily lesson plans.
   - the lack of knowledge that practicing educators possess on the subject of the African American and techniques and strategies that may be used to incorporate Black history on a day-to-day basis.
   - the lack of information in textbooks which tend to concentrate on slavery, leaving history before and after slavery barely touched.
   - the lack of Black reading material, books and magazines, that are promoted on reading lists outside of Black History Month.
   - the State Board must take a leadership role in promoting Afrocentric environments in predominately and all-Black pre-school centers.

b. **Council for Economic Opportunities (CEO), Head Start, and Cuyahoga Community College.** Nothing upsets me more than to visit a Head Start program that is servicing predominately or all-Black children and see them only discuss and have activities around Black history during Black History Month. From the time Black babies enter the program in September and leave in June they should be imbued with a sense of race pride. Clearly teachers must be retrained in order to make this happen. CEO, which is the parent agency for Head Starts, must provide and promote in-service training for practicing teachers. Cuyahoga Community College which offers a two year certificate in early childhood development must

assume leadership by providing classes to potential teacher that address this issue.

Component D:
A Case for providing pre-school experiences to all at-risk children and mandating all-day-everyday kindergarten for school systems that have a high drop out rate.

Longitudinal research studies have concluded that children who receive quality early education are more likely to be successful throughout their academic lives and continue their schooling with a college education or vocational training. In addition, these studies concluded that students who received pre-school education were involved in fewer crimes, were less likely to become welfare recipients and reported fewer teenage pregnancies.

In addition to the above findings, a twenty-six year study conducted in Ypsilanti, Michigan, which tracked children who received pre-school, found that there was a decrease in grade retention, an increase in high school completion, an increase in students going on to some form of higher education, and an increase in I.Q. scores.

The Ohio Department of Education has released a 1988 interim report of a two-year preschool/kindergarten longitudinal research study. The study coordinator was Robert Sheehan, Ph.D. The study looked at and compared results in achievement test and classroom behavior performance of children who were in three types of kindergarten programs: half-day, alternate day, full-day. The summary of their findings in these two areas are as follows.

Achievement test favors pupils in full-day kindergarten.

The achievement test results observed for kindergarten pupils tested in April 1988 are remarkable in their consistency. For the second consecutive year in this longitudinal study... achievement test data at the end of the kindergarten year favor pupils in full-day kindergarten in all subtests of the Metropolitan Readiness Test. The subtest were, a. pre-reading test, b. visual subtest, c. auditory subtest, d. language subtest, e. quantitative subtest.

Achievement tests favor pupils who have attended preschool.

Additional achievement test data (in all subtests) favor pupils who have attended preschool for at least some period of time prior to kindergarten. A greater percentage of children in full-day kindergarten attended preschool before kindergarten; however, even when preschool attendance is statistically controlled, length of the kindergarten day continues to be a significant factor in all subtest measured by the Metropolitan Readiness Tests. ***The strongest combination of variables that are related to the highest achievement test performance is a combination of preschool***

attendance prior to kindergarten and full-day kindergarten.

Improved results in school behavior performance:

The school behavior data obtained from kindergarten teachers in winter of 1986-1987 clearly favor the full-day kindergarten pupils. Teachers reported full-day kindergarten pupils demonstrated more positive classroom behavior as compared to students in half-day and alternate-day programs. However, the data indicate significant differences in classroom behavior in relationship to preschool attendance only in two areas: independent learning, and less irrelevant talk... Those kindergarten pupils who had attended preschool were reported to demonstrate more independent learning and less irrelevant talk than pupils who had not attended preschool.

Clearly, all children who are at-risk would benefit from a pre-school experience and all-day-every-day kindergarten.

We are not meeting the needs of pre-school children in the Cleveland community. The majority of at-risk children do not have a pre-school experience. There are approximately 12,000 three and four year-olds living in this county who are eligible for Head Start. The Council for Economic Opportunities, which is the Federal agency that oversees all Head Start programs in Cleveland, is only able to take 2,990 children. They estimate that they are only servicing 24.9 percent of the eligible population. Cleveland Public Schools currently provides a half-day program for four-year-olds, but this program can only serve 1,000 children.

We are not meeting the needs of kindergarten children in the Cleveland community. The majority of at-risk children do not attend all-day-every-day kindergarten. Cleveland Public Schools currently has an enrollment of 6,135 children who attend kindergarten. Of that enrollment, only 1,107 Black children attend full-day while the majority, 4,085, attend half-day kindergarten. Of the 1,000 children who have been identified to be placed in the alternative program, pupil adjustment, there is only enough money to serve 160.

Much has been said about public schools getting into the business of pre-school education. Some early childhood specialists tell us that when children take their first reading test they do well but by the time they have been in school three or four years they are scoring *below* the norm, so why give schools the chance to "mess children up" earlier than they are now by sending them to pre-school or all-day kindergartens?

I would suggest that educators are sensitive to these feelings and through collaboration with early childhood specialist, have established pre-school guidelines and work with these specialist to establish programs that reflect the lessons learned through years of trial and error set forth by Head Start and other recognized pre-school organizations and agencies.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Pre-school

I. **Increase Federal dollars to expand Head Start.** Currently Head Start agencies are using approximately $6 million to service less than a quarter of the children who are eligible. The Council for Economic Opportunities of Greater Cleveland estimated that it would cost another $20 million to service all who are eligible.

II. **Public as well as the private sector must offer day care.** We must push all institutions to provide day care. This includes corporations and universities. Available day care will provide jobs for people who work in the centers as well as freeing time for woman to work outside the home. Most importantly, day care provides the option for independence which encourages hope among the parents of children in poverty.

III. **Additional state support for non-profit day care.** State support should be made available to neighborhood centers, community houses, and churches. Take money from the criminal and prison budgets and give it to pre-school education which will save the government money in welfare and prison costs later.

IV. **Devise alternative ways of exposing children to pre-school experiences.** There is no question that at-risk children would profit greatly from in center programs, however, the current home-visit program has proven to be effective and needs to be expanded along with other innovative approaches to reaching at-risk children.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

All-day-every-day kindergarten for school system that have a high drop out rate.

I. **Continue to push The Ohio Legislature to fund all-day-every-day kindergarten for school systems that have a high drop out rate.** The State Board of Education recognizing the importance of early childhood education, has recommended to the 118th General Assembly $40 million for programs for at-risk kindergarten. **Although this is a valiant effort, the proposal to fund all-day kindergarten has been rejected by the Ohio Legislature time and time again. The Cleveland community must speak through its educational community and stakeholders to make this happen.**

II. **Lobbying efforts: Cleveland citizens must contact local legislators as well as go down to Columbus and lobby for the special needs of at-risk children.**

III. **Language for recommendation must be qualified:** The existing language calls for optional all day kindergarten. Schools systems that continue to have a high risk factor, that is, more than 30 percent drop out rate, should have mandatory all-day-every-day kindergarten.

Cleveland Public School-University Partnerships: Futuristic Considerations for Public Educational Institutions

By Dean J. John Harris, III, Ph.D. and Sanza B. Clark, Ph.D.
College of Education, Cleveland State University

INTRODUCTION

Cleveland State University has initiated public school-university endeavors in the attempt to help the Cleveland Public School System produce sound student-learners who enjoy meaningful educational experiences from kindergarten through high school. These "need-oriented" models embody alternative methods that provide urban educational leaders with information which will lead to additional creative programs. For too long, many in higher education have viewed public schools as little more than laboratories where student teachers practice newly learned skills. However, we have reached a point where we must reevaluate both the extent and the nature of the relationship between colleges of education and public schools (Smith, 1986). We know almost nothing for certain about the dynamics of these cooperative relationships; almost everything we try represents a blend of creative thinking.

This chapter presents these writers' catalogue of those factors that will almost certainly affect the City of Cleveland's education in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The perspective here is that of a dean, as well as a colleague and professional educator, compelled to address in general the critical issues we face, and to reassess in particular the capabilities of Cleveland's educational institutions to meet the needs of its African American students and, hence, of our future. This chapter also suggests ways both to reduce the impact of the negative effects and to develop creative and "need-oriented" programs. Such programs are particularly salient to Cleveland in light of the fact that approximately 70 percent of its public school population is African American and slightly more than that percentage are poor.

AN ALTRUISTIC MISSION: "THE EXCELLENCE MOVEMENT"

Cleveland State University believes that an urban educational institution's mission must include a deep and abiding concern for the well-being of its young people and the opportunities that allow them to mature and flourish during their

school years. Unless African American children and their families can look to the future with hope, our democratic society stands in peril for all citizens. These high stakes require our university and other educational institutions to place a high priority on opportunities for all students to gain meaningful growth, advancement, and mastery within this educational and social framework.

Nowhere is the birthright of an education more critically at stake right now than in urban public schools, which have always played the central role in preparing youth for life. The now famous educational report, *A Nation at Risk* (1983), and the spate of complementary and elaborative reports on public education that followed it, point to a decline—even a crisis – in our schools: low achievement, a decline in academic standards, alarming dropout rates, and a general lack of accomplishment. This erosion, felt most keenly in the poorer urban areas where a scarcity of resources undermines progress, has placed most of a young person's opportunities in jeopardy, particularly the poor and minority youngsters for whom a public school education is practically the only hope.

Responding to this national crisis, a movement addressing school improvement has begun to take hold not only in Cleveland, but also across the country. This movement aims at maximizing the effectiveness and integrity of public education. Driven by a sense of history and recognizing an obligation to promote constructive harmony with the Cleveland Public School District and Cleveland's private and philanthropical organizations, Cleveland State University has begun to signal a commitment to broadening further the scope of this "excellence movement."

Cleveland State University exemplifies the ways a conscientious, need-oriented educational institution can collaborate and render service to produce more effective public schools in various significant ways. Our philosophy is preceded by a fundamental rethinking and reworking of the traditional ways in which public schools utilize the external assistance Cleveland State University currently provides. Focused primarily, but not exclusively, on the state's largest urban area, initiatives can follow the beliefs that all educational institutions must: (1) be concerned with the overall development of all student-learners, including their social and emotional growth; and, (2) make a conscious effort, as part of the larger community, to involve parents, youth-related agencies and other interested parties in those improvement efforts.

Certainly, viable public school-university partnerships such as ours may be but one answer to addressing this particular issue. But if this one approach is to take root, educational leadership issues must be considered (and reconsidered). As professional educators, those of us at institutions of learning must address these critical issues as we embark upon a new era in our profession of pedagogy. With reference to African Americans residing in the urban milieu, those issues include high dropout rates, disproportionate suspension and expulsion rates, a lack of public support for school improvement, illiteracy, sparse offerings at the middle school and junior high level, and inadequate research, evaluation, and new program dissemination. Additionally, issues identified by the Maryland State

Board of Higher Education Task Force in 1985 include troubling teacher shortages, a typically uncomfortable transition to college, lack of tutoring and other volunteer services for public school students, too few faculty exchange programs, and college personnel hesitant to promote staff development in the public schools.

THE NEED FOR PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

Just as school improvement is impossible without a strong instructional core, so too it is impossible without active public support. Stated differently, the greatest advances in urban public education have come in those cities where an informed public has become involved, especially with such efforts as budget increases, bond issues, and educational reform.

Clearly, the time when local schools could "go it alone" has ended. An era of accountability has arrived and many of us, as educational leaders, know now, as never before, about the importance of the partnerships among school systems, the city and region, and the business community. For public schools to move ahead, particularly when the majority of urban taxpayers have no children in the schools, institutions of higher education and civic and business leaders must champion their cause. A renewed emphasis on outreach programs in the Cleveland community, and a new cooperation among all educators will lead to a re-examination of past priorities and an improved contemporary image and reality.

All educational institutions must acknowledge the importance of developing and supporting initiatives aimed at informing the public. Effective communication, as exemplified by increased dialogue and association among the community, public schools, and institutions of higher learning, can foster a climate for progress. Factors that can contribute to the development of such a viable partnership include: commitment, a respect for each other's competencies, and mutual trust with all parties attributing to the others the best possible motives in the mutual effort to improve education (Heil, 1986)

Institutions of higher learning must stand ready to help and guide the growing number of lay persons and professionals engaged in school improvement, as well as support programs that provide expanded opportunities for our young people. The education intent here is to create a network of people, both internal and external to the schools, that not only fosters the dissemination of that which appears to work best, but also facilitates on-going dialogue among knowledgeable and caring people. With such a network, educators and concerned citizens of Cleveland can become better informed about what must occur in order to give our youngsters and schools a better outlook on the future.

CONCLUSION

These observations about educational initiatives rest on a tacit assumption that the goals of education, as emphasized by Ernest Boyer, are personal improvement and civic engagement for all partners in the educational enterprise. This

requires definite choices regarding where and how to invest human and fiscal resources. These are prospective, rather than a loosely connected set of interests in which the "whole" sought exceeds and becomes more dynamic than the sum of its components. The "process" of turning our city schools around is exactly that – a process. This process involves people, both internal and external to the schools, who are committed to the pursuit of educational changes which promise improvement and a better future for our students.

Educational institutions must seek to share their resources to promote this process, and participate in those good faith efforts that capture the *esprit de corps* of the quest. We must also foster those efforts that set forth a positive, undaunting vision of urban school improvement and youth educational development that is both compelling and achievable.

If we as educators resign ourselves to the role of passive puppets in a game of pondering and short-term acclaim, then we shall all fear for the future. If, however, education is to prove itself equal to the challenge of positive change, that change will come in many important respects. The criterion by which we measure the validity of our current educational practices must be simply this: Will it help all of today's young people in Cleveland, to live meaningful and rewarding lives during the 21st century?

REFERENCES

Heil, L. (1986). *A University Faculty Member's Perspective: Lesson learned from a partnership experience.* Paper presented at a symposium (Improving education through a public school-university partnership) of the Seventieth Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, California, April 16-19. (ED 267063)

Maryland State Board of Higher Education Advisory Task Force to the Education Coordinating Committee. Report on the role of higher education in enhancing cooperation with the public schools in Maryland. Annapolis, MD: Maryland State Board for Higher Education, 1985.

National Commission of Excellence in Education. *A Nation at Risk: The imperative for educational reform*. Washington, DC: United States Department of Education, 1983.

Smith, R.B. Public School-University Partnership: Observations of a dean. *Resources in Education*, 1986. (ED 170423)

Accountability: The Emerging Challenge to Higher Education

By Nolen M. Ellison, Ph.D.
with collaborative support from
Janet D. Smith, Ph.D. and Robert L. Green, Ph.D.

The year 1988 was an eventful one for higher education nationally, at the state level and in Greater Cleveland. The growing federal deficit and the international trade imbalances have put pressure on all domestic spending—including funding for higher education programs by the federal government. State governments, seeking to respond to the realities of "new federalism," have attempted to structure new responses to their responsibilities for student financial assistance, primary support to higher education programs and the funding of increased efforts to ensure minority student access, opportunity and success. Higher education institutions in the nation's major urban communities, including Greater Cleveland, have continued to face the herculean task of responding to the increased demand for access and opportunity from the Black community.

What is clear, is that higher education—both public and private, two-year and four-year—does not exist in a vacuum. Major trends and issues which affect the international, national, regional and state scene also affect higher education in local communities. Increasingly, the rate of unemployment, the growth of welfare rolls, the decline in high school achievement, the changed economic climate, the implications of an all volunteer military system and many other trends, affect the 18-21 college age person who traditionally seeks to enter one of the more than 3,000 colleges and universities throughout the nation. For those areas of the nation that have long depended upon traditional manufacturing – such as the steel industry and automotive production – the past decade has been a difficult one for educational progress generally and higher education specifically.

Nolen M. Ellison is President of Cuyahoga Community College.
Janet D. Smith is Associate Vice President for Planning and Research at Cuyahoga Community College.
Robert L. Green is the Coordinator of Cuyahoga Community College's Center for Applied Research in Urban Education.

Planning for educational progress amidst difficult changes in the external environment has proven difficult for many higher education institutions. The challenges related to the hiring and promotion of Blacks, recruitment and graduation of increased numbers of minorities, and the development and promotion of programs designed to serve as catalysts for change in inner city communities have always been difficult for two- and four-year colleges and universities alike. In 1989, these challenges remain as a conscience of the nation. The state priority on more effective human resources development, the rights of people, and the dignity of the individual require that the challenge be met.

THE OHIO PROFILE

Ohio has enjoyed a liberal history of higher education as it relates to Black and other minority populations. For over a century, Oberlin College, Wilberforce University and state supported colleges and universities have sought, admitted, educated and graduated significant numbers of Blacks, both from Ohio and throughout the nation. The creation of Central State University, as an outgrowth of the Second Morrill Act passed in 1890, guaranteed for Ohio the combined public and private higher education system necessary to ensure access and equal higher education opportunity for the current and future generations of Blacks in Ohio who would seek to improve their life chances through pursuit of higher learning. What is clear, both to the scholar and the casual observer, is that Ohio has indeed been a leader among the nation's fifty states in providing higher education opportunities for its Black citizens.

Since 1970, Ohio has been one of the primary "out migration" states. From 1970 to 1980, the nation's population grew by 11.4 percent. Ohio's growth rate during that period was only 1.2 percent. Ohio's population is currently 10.8 million, approximately 80 percent of the state's population is concentrated in and around the urban centers of Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo and Youngstown.

Ohio is also a racially and ethnically diverse state. In 1980 the state's population was 88.9 percent White, 9.9 percent Black, 0.1 percent American Indian, 0.4 percent Asian, 1.1 percent Hispanic and 0.5 percent of "other" races. Between 1970 and 1980, Ohio's Black population showed a dramatic increase of 11 percent. In line with demographics for the state as a whole, 65 percent of Ohio's Black population live in and or around its seven metropolitan areas. The January 1988 Ohio Board of Regents (OBOR) *Policy Study on Access and Success in Ohio's Higher Education System* points out that the proportion of Blacks in each of the related "counties" is even higher in the traditional college-going age group (18-24 years) than in the general population.

How well does Ohio fair, relative to how its population — both majority and minority — participate in higher education? The response to this question is particularly important in assessing the ability of the state and its metropolitan areas to adapt to the rapidly changing technological realities of society. The

systems which exist for increased levels of education and training beyond high school are significant indicators of our ability to adapt to the new employment requirements. While it has always been assumed that increased levels of education and advanced degree preparation are required to supply the nation with the professionals required to provide medical care, engineering know-how, legal resources and the broad array of semi – and professional expertise required in a democratic society, it is increasingly apparent that increased levels of education and training are also imperative if this nation is to meet the challenge of its competition with foreign nations as we move into the 21st century. Improving the skills of the nation's workforce through increased opportunity at all education levels is a challenge that our society must meet.

Ohio has traditionally shown a low participation rate in college attendance rates when compared to rates in other states. The state has ranked between 35 in 1971 and 33 in 1980 in the percentage of persons enrolled in public and private institutions of higher learning. The serious issues related to participation rates of Black and other minority students has surfaced most vividly since 1980. Headcount enrollments for Black students peaked in 1980, but have declined through 1986. The proportion of Black students in higher education in Ohio declined from 8.3 percent in 1977 to 6.8 percent in 1986. The OBOR 1988 policy report notes that this decline represents a negative change of 12 percent for Black students. During this period there has been a corresponding increase in college attendance of 7 percent for all students, and an increase of 8 percent for White students.

The portrait of Black student participation in higher education opportunities in Ohio mirrors the national experience. The decline of Black students as a share of the college-going population changed from 9.4 percent in 1976 to 8.8 percent in 1984. A recent report of the American Council on Education indicated that Black males accounted for 4.3 percent of college enrollments in 1976 and only 3.5 percent in 1986. The declining federal student aid availability and the shift from grants to loans were suggested as reasons for this decline.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND GREATER CLEVELAND

Higher education institutions, be they public or private, two – or four-year, are unique in that they are not merely local institutions. While the two-year community college tends to be more local than the state supported four-year university and private colleges, all higher education institutions seek to draw their student populations from the widest range of prospective students available. This quest to seek the broadest range of students, through special recruitment and marketing efforts, must be balanced against the obligation to serve the local community. There is also a presumed additional obligation for publicly supported higher education institutions. That obligation is to reach out to serve local tax paying citizens and communities. Their taxes support the cost of operating educational institutions and also subsidize the cost of tuition so that students may pay lower fees.

The establishment of Cuyahoga Community College in 1963, along with the creation of Cleveland State University in 1964, were efforts by the state of Ohio to provide the broadest possible public response to the need for publicly supported, low tuition, close-to-home education for citizens in the City of Cleveland and in Cuyahoga County. Now, twenty-five years later, an assessment of progress as well as a report on the status of higher education and Black Clevelanders is timely. More importantly, however, are questions related to the future. What is the role of higher education in assisting local schools to improve their performance in increasing the pool of students eligible to go on to higher education? Can higher education institutions increase the numbers of Black, Hispanic, and other minority students successfully completing their courses of study and graduation? Can higher education institutions reach out and better serve the increasing adult populations which require post-secondary education opportunities? Can colleges and universities develop and implement community service programs which connect the institutions' programs and offerings to the requirements of the community and the various agencies which serve them? Can higher education institutions create a climate of mutual trust and confidence which supports and addresses the legitimate aspirations and needs of the local community?

The answers to these questions represent the starting point for developing a dialogue between higher education institutions and their local communities as they seek to build a sense of mutual respect and support. The recent report of the *Futures Commission* of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the January 1988 *Policy Study on Student Access and Success in Ohio's Higher Education System* by the Ford Foundation sponsored *Urban Community College Transfer Opportunity Report* and the OBOR *Master Plan for Higher Education — Toward the Year 2000* all outline specific recommendations for local community and institutional actions to address the emergent challenges facing colleges and universities located in urban communities. These national and state reports, along with the local 1982 *Race Relations Report* of the Greater Cleveland Roundtable and the *Cleveland State University Civic Committee on Race Relations Report* provide a more than adequate backdrop for considering future strategies and programs to improve higher education performance and Black community needs in the Greater Cleveland community.

LOOKING AHEAD — STRATEGIES FOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

The literature is replete on the theory and practice of change in higher education. Studies of leadership, management and initiatives for change abound. What is often missing are case studies and demonstrations that can be tested and replicated. The remainder of this report addresses just such a case example or model. It is being developed and implemented in Greater Cleveland as part of the OBOR commitment to improving minority student access and success in public higher education. The *Greater Cleveland Area Urban Demonstration Laboratory Model* will be tested over the coming decade as an urban education reform strategy.

The strategy seeks to link to public school education services more closely to two-year community college programming and university degree programs. The strategy seeks to achieve a significant increase in the level of minority student participation and success in higher education by building significant partnerships among local institutions, agencies, professional groups, civic organizations, local business interests and educational institutions. Collaborative programs which result from the recent Partnership Agreement Services between the Urban League and Cuyahoga Community College will, in 1989-90, become components of the developing Model.

The planning and development of the Model is well underway. The measurement of outcomes of the Model is anticipated through a systematic approach to applied research, student follow-up design and annual reporting being developed as part of the Model.

RATIONALE FOR THE URBAN DEMONSTRATION LABORATORY MODEL

Minority groups in general and Blacks in particular are rapidly losing ground in higher education. Minority students are more likely than are other students to drop from the educational pipeline at every level. Minority students are more likely to leave secondary school before graduation, dramatically reducing the number of students qualified to apply for college admission. Minority graduates who do enter college are less likely to complete a degree. At every level of education, Black students enroll in school or college at lower rates than White students. In 1982, only 58 percent of 18 to 19 year old youngsters in the Black population of the United States were high school graduates, compared to 75 percent of White in the same age group (American Council on Education, 1984). Between 1975 and 1982, the percentage of Black high school graduates enrolling in college declined from approximately 31.5 percent to 28 percemt (Watkins, 1985). Additionally, Blacks have lost ground relative to non-Blacks at each stage of the educational ladder. In 1972, Blacks represented 12.7 percent of all 18 year-olds, 10.5 percent of all high school graduates, 8.7 percent of all college freshmen. Four years later, only 6.5 percent of all bachelor degree recipients were Black. By 1979, Blacks represented only about 4 percent of all professional and doctoral recipients (American Council on Education, 1984).

For over two decades, Cuyahoga Community College has responded to the dilemma of educational access and opportunity for urban and minority students. The efforts of the College have resulted in measurable success, but the institution also acknowledges that much of the challenge still remains to be met.

In attempting to help students overcome both personal and structural barriers to higher education, Cuyahoga Community College has focused primarily on a strategy of inter-institutional articulation – the process of linking policies and programs of schools with those of higher education institutions. This strategy seeks to smooth the transitions from secondary schools to two-year schools to four-year schools. The major elements of change affected by Cuyahoga

Community College's articulation approach are curricular improvements, academic and student support services, development of student information systems and enhancement of transfer agreements and opportunities.

As it began its third decade, Cuyahoga Community College established a five year strategy (1984-89) to improve educational access, opportunity and success for students seeking associate and baccalaureate degrees. Each element of this effort was designed to operate within the context of Cuyahoga Community College's overall strategic planning and institutional development framework.

Thus, on October 1, 1984, the College established a Center for Articulation and Transfer Opportunities (CATO). The Center's mandates were to provide institution-wide leadership, coordination, evaluation, policy research and reporting services, particularly as they relate to enhancement of articulation and transfer opportunities.

During 1986, Cuyahoga Community College further recognized a need to take full advantage of its rapidly growing programs and resources related to improving the education of young people before and during post-secondary education. What was needed was a more effective theoretical framework that would provide a map for the College's longitudinal strategy for instructional change. The recently documented Greater Cleveland Area Urban Demonstration Laboratory Model addresses that need. It describes a theoretical context for the College's coordinated efforts to: facilitate high school to college transitions; improve student retention and academic achievement; and facilitate two-year to four-year college transfer. The Urban Demonstration Model also provides an institutional framework for evaluations and analyses designed to assess the accomplishment of goals for both program outcomes and institutional change.

The Urban Demonstration Model was developed as a collaborative and aggressive strategy for *effective schooling* in a large urban area. It acknowledges that, to ensure the success of large groups of minority students, the local two-year community college must develop a strategy that is clearly tied to its sense of purpose and priority as a community agency. The Model delineates a set of theoretical principles, the expected outcomes, institutional structure and operational responsibilities involved in such an undertaking.

The decision to launch a full-fledged and highly coordinated model to enhance minority student success is grounded in four fundamental premises.

1. Consistent with its mission and philosophy, an institution must undertake change to improve minority student success in a way that is clearly understood and reflected as a *strategy for overall institutional advancement.*
2. An effective change strategy requires that *cooperative relationships* be developed across various levels of education (urban high schools, and four-year colleges and universities) in the interest of students who will enter and exit at these levels of the educational continuum.
3. A *clear definition and well-understood theoretical framework* (including expected outcomes and evaluation measures) must govern the development

of efforts to effect both short and long term institutional change.

4. Executive leadership is an important key to institutional change. However, in the absence of singular line reporting relationships, *clearly defined structural relationships and accountability structures* are required.

The strategies for the Urban Demonstration Model are summarized below within the context of these four premises.

1. *Institutional Change Toward Institutional Advancement*

   As has traditionally been the case in community colleges, approximately 56 percent of minority students who attend post-secondary institutions begin by enrolling in a two-year college (Grant, 1982). If they are highly committed to the success of these students, such institutions can best serve minorities because they offer high quality, accessible and affordable educational opportunities and services. They also offer university transfer, technical and lifelong learning programs designed to promote individual development.

   To enhance the effectiveness with which the two-year college can accomplish its basic mission, it is essential that the institution undertake deliberate efforts to attract and retain larger numbers of minority students, and to provide opportunities which increase the likelihood of their educational success. The goals of institutional advancement through such a strategy must also be clearly agreed upon with the College. For Cuyahoga Community College, such goals include:

   - the development of a cadre of well prepared students who enroll in the College's program and services;
   - an increased number of students who graduate from urban high schools and continue on to higher education;
   - a concrete demonstration of the College's commitment to improving the life preparation of youth in the urban community;
   - improvement of the overall teaching-learning environment and image of urban schools; and,
   - development and refinement of a model for improving urban schools which may be applied to other higher education institutions.

   In short, access, institutional commitment, opportunity and standards for student performance are important touchstones for developing and advancing the institution.

2. *Institutional Change Through An Orientation Toward Building Educational Bridges*

   The challenges which face urban schools are not unique to specific levels of education. Inadequate preparation in basic skills, high attrition rates, and economic hardships which detract from educational participation and academic performance — all of these challenge the effectiveness of high schools, as well as two- and four-year colleges. Design of feasible carer paths

for students require that bridge programs of learning and support services also be developed. Such programs must begin as soon as possible after (if not before) students enter high school and must continue through the completion of their educational goals.

A continuous (two-plus-two) approach to curriculum ladders and individualized educational planning represents an important change in the professional orientation of staff at all levels. This should be supplemented by long-term financial aid planning and strategic use of personal, academic and career support options. The development of such an orientation is particularly crucial in the two-year college environment.

The nature of cooperative planning which must be carried out between and among faculty, counselors, and administrators must come to be seen as an important and usual means of doing business at all three levels. Formal articulation agreements, however detailed and specific their content, are dependent for their success on the bridges which serve to reduce discontinuity and disappointments as students move from one level of education to another.

3. *Institutional Change Through A Theoretical Framework and Evaluation Model*

The purpose of any theory or framework is to establish a sense of order around which objectives for accomplishing relevant outcomes can be developed. Because institutional change to improve student success requires that coherence be created from seemingly disparate functions in structurally different areas, such a sense of order is particularly important. It provides the pegs on which to hand each activity and simultaneously describes the contribution of each objective. A theoretical framework also serves to define a set of institutional outcomes against which the implementation of plans can be evaluated. Decisions concerning program modification, resource allocation and the placement of institutional responsibilities are also facilitated.

"Effective schools" theory provides a proven framework around which to organize programmatic efforts to increase opportunities and improve the likelihood of educational success among minority students. Through extensive faculty and administrative discussions, program review and analysis and through review of the effective schools literature, this theoretical model is being modified and expanded to meet the needs of both high school and community college students. Much of the research, evaluation and writing on effective schools in the past has focused on student achievement at the elementary and middle school levels. Cuyahoga Community College is providing national leadership in the application of this theory at the high school and community college levels.

In addition to presenting academic credibility, this theory is also sufficiently inclusive and adaptable to accommodate the broad range of objectives which are required to improve institutional effectiveness. The factors

which have been shown to distinguish effective from ineffective schools, and which are adapted as the theoretical framework for the Urban Demonstration Model are the following.

- Each school has a statement of the *school mission* that is clearly defined, communicated to, and understood by its public as well as its administrators, teachers and students.
- There is an emphasis on *school-community relations* (parents, businesses, civic organizations) that is required for cooperative planning, implementation and support of educational programs. Such cooperation exemplifies and communicates to students the mission and purpose of schools, the expectations of exemplary performance, the nature of teacher support that is available to assure such performance and the individual's responsibility for learning.
- There is an emphasis on *academic foundations* that is associated with students' ability to read, write, compute and process information with a minimum level of difficulty.
- A *school learning climate* cultivates respect and mutually trusting relationships among students, teachers and administrators.
- There is strong and effective *leadership*, particularly in the areas of instruction and student support. School leaders confer with and advise teachers and students about learning outcomes and assure prompt solutions to enhance support for the school.
- *High expectations* are grounded on a belief that all students can achieve well beyond their current levels, and that student learning is a responsibility shared by both teachers and learners. Teachers are expected to provide high quality instruction, and to maintain high standards for learners. Students are expected to function at the highest motivational, perseverance and capability levels, and to accept personal responsibility for their performance.
- Continuous *instructional assessment and feedback* is used to motivate students as well as to form the basis of corrective action. The objectives of instruction, along with the level of skills, knowledge and competencies which students are expected to learn must be clearly understood by each student.

These theoretical principles will be assessed in terms of their applicability to instructional and support programs jointly or separately designed and administered by the Community College, other cooperating colleges and universities, and urban public high schools in Northeastern Ohio.

4. *Institutional Change Through Clearly Defined Operational Responsibilities*

   The leadership challenge in accomplishing the objectives of the institutional change model are identical to those which result in any change in policies, procedures or practices within an institution. Such leadership must

reflect a clear understanding of the institution's commitment to minority student success and the strategies by which it aims to demonstrate this commitment. It must also understand the process of moving from strategy to implementation. Thus, the development of detailed plans, and the clear definition of operational leadership and responsibility are important factors.

I have made the Model a top priority. The executive leadership for the Greater Cleveland Urban Demonstration Laboratory Model rests with two key offices — Institutional Planning and Research/Institutional Development and the Chief Executive Officer of CCC Metropolitan Campus. Management staff with key responsibility for accomplishing the objectives of the Model are provided an opportunity to fully understand the strategy and theoretical framework for institutional change; to plan for the implementation of programs which contribute to the goals of the Model; and to participate in the development of criteria and strategies to be used in evaluating program outcomes. Key faculty and administrative leaders within and across educational levels participate in planning in which program design, implementation plans, and expected outcomes are stressed. Other aspects of the Model are also outlined and discussed as required by level of interest.

Open communication is also maintained Presentations are made to the college community concerning the Model, as well as current or planned programs that are consistent with agreed-upon guidelines related to the mission, institutional goals, expectations, outcomes and (ultimately) student success of the Urban Demonstration Model.

CONCLUSION

In summary, Cuyahoga Community College's programs and services which seek to improve the access and success of urban and minority students are designed, implemented and evaluated within the operational context of those units charged with on-going responsibility for such functions. The same is true for programs which are administered at other institutions. This ultimately assures that activities will be modified in such a manner as a continually effective changes designed to improve institutional systems and practices, hence the success of minority students. This is the ultimate goal of the Greater Cleveland Area Urban Demonstration Model — the increased effectiveness of support programs and services through the institutionalization of the objectives of programs and other initiatives defined to reflect the purpose and goals of the Model.

Through the success of the Model, Cuyahoga Community College seeks to address a range of major social and economic problems which face the urban communities of Northeastern Ohio — particularly the Cleveland Urban Community. The ultimate outcomes of commitment to the educational success of Cleveland area urban and minority students will be the increased stability of the personal, economic and family lives of individuals. Educated young adults are in the best position to be productive citizens, community leaders, and effective and responsible parents.

REFERENCES

AACJC Commission on the Future of the Community College. *Building Communities: A Vision for A New Century, AACJC, Washington, D.C., 1988.*

American Council on Education. *Minorities in Higher Education. Third Annual Status Report.* American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1984.

Brookover, Wilbur B., *School Social Systems and Student Achievement: Schools Can Make A Difference.* Praeger Publishers, New York, 1979.

College Entrance Examination Board. *Equality and Excellence: The Educational Status of Black Americans.* CEEB, New York, 1985.

Cuyahoga Community College, *Toward Excellence and Equity,* 1987. Unpublished planning paper available through the Office of Institutional Development, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

Cuyahoga Community College, *Center for Articulation and Transfer Opportunities (with) A Research Agenda* (1984). Unpublished planning paper available from the Office of Institutional Planning and Research, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

Cuyahoga Community College/Cleveland Public Schools. *Educating Black Children: The Cleveland Agenda* (1987). Published by The Center for Applied Research and Urban Education, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

Edmonds, R.R., *Effective Schools for the Urban Poor.* Educational Leadership, 37, 15-27, October 1979.

Ellison, Nolen M., *A Strategy for Educational Change and Excellence in Greater Cleveland: 1986-87.* Paper presented to the Education Committee of Operation Alert; Cleveland, Ohio, July, 1986.

Ellison, Nolen M. and Janet D. Smith, *Access, Options and Excellence: The Articulation Challenge Among Urban High School, Two-Year Colleges and Four Year Institutions* in "Toward Mastery Leadership in Access, Assessment and Developmental Education," (proceedings of the 1986 Summer Workshop of the ACT (May, 1987).

Ellison, Nolen M., *Greater Cleveland's Educational Reform Agenda and the Greater Cleveland Roundtable.* Paper presented at the Annual Roundtable Retreat; Cleveland, Ohio, April, 1986.

Ellison, Nolen M. and Janet D. Smith, *Strategies for Improving the Status of Blacks in Higher Education.* Paper presented at Conference II of the Illinois Committee on Black Concerns in Higher Education (ICBCHE), Illinois, May 22, 1985.

Grant, Vance and Eiden, Leo, *Digest of Educational Statistics,* 1982, National Center for Educational Statistics, Washington, D.C. 1982.

Green, Robert L., *Samples of Evaluation Strategies and Measures.* October, 1986. Available through the Office of Institutional Planning and Research, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

Higher Education Research Institute, Inc. *Final Report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc. 1982.

Institute for the Study of Educational Policy. *Equal Educational Opportunity: More Promise Than Progress,* Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1980.

Ohio Board of Regents. *Student Access and Success in Ohio's Higher Education System: A Policy Study (and Recommendations),* January, 1988.

Ohio Board of Regents. *Toward The Year 2000: Master Plan for Higher Education,* September, 1988

Trent, William, *Characteristics and Patterns of Black Two-Year Enrollment and Degree Attainment.* Paper presented to Networks for the Ford Foundation's Urban Community College Transfer Opportunities Program; Chicago, Illinois, November, 1985.

Watkins, Linda, *Losing Ground: Minorities' Enrollment in College Retreats After its Surge in the '70's,* The Wall Street Journal, May 29, 1985, p. 1.

Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc. and Data Bank, Inc. *Race and Ethnic Relations in Greater Cleveland,* Sponsored by The Greater Cleveland Roundtable, Cleveland, Ohio, November, 1982.

African American Research

By Duvon G. Winborne, Ph.D. and Dr. Sanza B. Clark, Ph.D.
Cleveland State University

This chapter covers the broad topic of African American research done both by Blacks and others. The argument put forth is that there is a crucial need for an Afro-centric perspective when doing research about African Americans. It does not suffice to merely replace a White researcher with a Black researcher; what is required is a change of perspective.

Operating from an Euro-centric perspective not only affects the interpretation of the research findings but it also has a large influence on how the problem is initially defined, what hypotheses are generated, how the sample is collected, and what statistical analyses are conducted. Each of these can have a profound effect on the research findings and how they are utilized by society.

The first part of this chapter discusses the impact of the research perspective on the above five areas. The second part looks at some major educational research questions for the greater Cleveland area. These questions were inspired by responses generated from a cross-section of Clevelanders attending a recent conference sponsored by the Urban Education Research Center at Cleveland State University.

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

The perspective an investigator brings to a study is often the most critical factor for determining an outcome. While not always apparent, many seemingly technically static aspects of a study are left to the discretion of individuals managing it. Sample selection, statistical methods, data collection instruments, and even the significance levels for statistical tests are defined and controlled by the investigator.

Perhaps the most important decisions during the research process are the selection of a problem area and the particular thrust the study will take. Problems which exist within urban settings, such as Cleveland, are easy to identify and often receive a great deal of attention from the academic community. Numerous research projects are undertaken to focus on important problem areas, but lacking the necessary perspective, few viable solutions are generated from the studies. The issue of research perspective is paramount when determining Cleveland's research needs.

Consider the proverbial drinking glass filled half-way with water. One individual looks at the glass with a negative, pessimistic perspective and says that it is half

empty. Another, more positive and optimistic, individual looks at the same glass and says that it is half full.

Approaching a problem area in research is not very different from this proverbial analysis of the half-filled water glass. Observations are made about a situation and a researcher introduces a perspective on the situation and on those critical factors which contribute to its existence. When research is conducted on Blacks within institutional settings such as schools, hospitals, and social service agencies, the studies are often conducted by White investigators whose perspectives are determined largely by their personal experiences and training.

This may not seem problematic, but close review of studies conducted will reveal two important things. First, most studies of Black issues are conducted by White investigators who are faculty members of major universities in the United States or Europe. The universities are usually located in rural settings where few, if any, casual contacts are possible with Black populations. Researchers must typically venture out from their academic settings into urban areas for gathering data on Black samples. White researchers are required to make critical decisions and judgments about phenomena with which they have little familiarity. Social norms and cultural practices for Black subjects may prove disconcerting or confusing to these researchers, resulting in poor conclusions about the nature of problems and few constructive solution proposals.

The second problem with most research conducted by White researchers on Black samples relates to conclusions drawn from the data. Often, problems found in the areas of health, education, economics, or socialization are associated with race and culture without consideration for other explanations. Most White researchers conclude the obvious with regard to their research data on Blacks. Problems within the population are associated with social conditions and factors which prevail in Black environments. These conditions have predominated Black culture in this country since its beginning and have improved very little during the country's short history. Few, if any, new insights are provided. Essentially, the White researcher views the prophetic water glass of Black as "half empty."

Perspective is very important in the conduct of research on Blacks in urban settings. It is clear that problems exist within settings where Blacks predominate and it is rather easy to reveal the existence and extent of problems. What seems to be more difficult is to conduct research which is aimed at revealing the more positive aspects of Black populations in an effort to find possible solutions for various problems.

Black researchers can often improve the value of studies conducted on Blacks within Cleveland if they demonstrate courage in defining problems and interpreting findings. This, however, is not an automatic contingency when both the sample and investigator are Black. Why is this? Pressures to remain viable within predominantly White universities cause Black scholars to publish in traditional journals. Such journals are refereed[1] by individuals who attempt to maintain the *status quo* when it comes to a particular field or problem area. Articles which conflict with traditional views on a topic are often rejected. It is felt that the

research cannot be valid if it contrasts sharply with the earlier research conducted in the area.

Many of the leading journals in the social and health sciences have only recently begun accepting articles which focus exclusively on Black issues. And, the articles accepted are often in line with previous research. This causes the Black researcher who works for a university to support earlier findings with their efforts. Even within predominantly Black universities, Black researchers find themselves faced with the prospect of supporting a White perspective with their studies if they wish to publish in traditional journals.

Developing an appropriate perspective on the problems which face Blacks residing in Cleveland is necessary if the research is to be useful and constructive. Efforts must be undertaken to involve Black researchers in major studies focused on critical problem areas. While it may be necessary for investigators to maintain an appropriate publication record, it is more important for positive findings to be published in non-academic media such as popular magazines and newspapers. This broadened range of dissemination would allow for greater influence in public policy.

Equally important, Black researchers must demonstrate courage in defining the problems as well as in reporting results. It is not adequate to serve as a validity checker for earlier research. Often, findings from research conducted on Blacks, particularly research done by Whites, contribute little or nothing to solving problems. Instead, these studies describe social conditions, health profiles, and economic states which are well understood by the general public. Research efforts should maintain a more positive perspective: revealing successes where none are expected; identifying strengths within institutions which have been considered ineffective; and, providing directions for intervention programs which may prove helpful for Blacks in need.

SUBJECT AVAILABILITY

Much of the research done on Black populations, particularly urban populations, involves public institutions or agencies. The unique nature of these entities as sampling sources may bias research findings as well as lead to faulty conclusions. It is often convenient for researchers to gain entry into public schools, social service agencies, and public hospitals for selecting research samples. Without questioning the nature of individuals who are served by these types of institutions, the researchers analyze their data and publish their findings.

Public institutions do not always serve a representative cross-section of the general population, or for that matter, of the Black population. Most individuals who seek services in public hospitals or apply for support within social service agencies are poor. While it may not be apparent to White researchers, all Blacks are not poor or underclass. Selecting a sample from a public agency will result in biased findings if the researcher does not fully explain the source and nature of subjects.

If there is a need to represent a range of characteristics about Blacks, alternative sampling sources must be considered. Private hospitals and private schools may serve as good alternative sources for selecting Blacks who will not be found in public agencies. There is, however, a problem with cooperation when subjects are sought outside of public institutions. There is a greater probability that middle-class and upper-class subjects will decline participation in a particular investigation.

There are specific reasons for this. Within public settings, many of the individuals who attend are receiving public assistance, are poorly educated, and have few middle-class skills. Such individuals make willing subjects for study as they often view the researchers as part of the organization that provides services. The distinctions between voluntary participation in a study and obligatory agency procedures become confused, especially when everyone who approaches the potential subject maintains an authoritative demeanor. Compliance rates are higher under such conditions.

In contrast, middle-class and upper-class individuals will easily distinguish between voluntary research participation and the requirements of an agency. Under such condition, the researcher can expect to have a lower compliance level relative to subject participation. The problem here is that many researchers who are conducting studies on Black issues are not very likely to seek non-indigent subjects, yet findings are reported as representative of all Blacks. In effect, the samples are not truly representative and any conclusion drawn may not be accurate or useful.

A recent example of this problem occurred in Washington, D.C. on a research project with which the writer was involved. The research was focused on pregnancy outcomes for high-risk Black women. Subjects were recruited from two sources for the study — one public hospital and one private hospital. Despite the fact that the private hospital accepted some indigent patients, many of the Black women who attended the clinic were middle-class. Preliminary data analysis revealed that infant characteristics and maternal characteristics contrasted sharply between subject selected from the two different hospital settings. In fact, subjects from the private hospital had strikingly different profiles from published descriptions of Black women from similar urban areas. Only those subjects selected from the public hospital appeared to parallel profiles derived from the research literature. Ostensibly, the private subjects were not from the same theoretical population as subjects from the public hospitals.

Although the research is still being conducted, the researchers have an opportunity to shed some new light on a problem area. There is a need, nevertheless, to describe in careful detail the nature and source of the study sample. Findings from this study may contrast dramatically with published reports of research conducted which involves similar conditions and factors. Controversy may arise over these data, but there is the possibility that a significant contribution will be made to the current understanding of the problem.

Clearly, this example reveals the need for careful selection of a representative

sample for any research conducted in Cleveland. It is not enough to seek those individuals who are involved with public agencies if a comprehensive view of a problem is needed. Blacks with middle-class and upper-class backgrounds may reveal new insights into problems as well as promote viable solution alternatives. The goals and objectives of any research must be carefully defined to facilitate the inclusion of the appropriate subject mix. Such an approach will ensure that findings from such studies will be useful in forming public policy or developing appropriate remedial interventions.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The selection of statistical analysis is within the discretionary control of an investigator, and techniques may be used creatively to support any position on a topic. While it appears that statistics are objective tools in research, they are often used for supporting the particular view or perspective maintained by a researcher. This reality regarding the technical aspects of research heightens the importance of having well-trained Black researchers involved in research conducted in the Cleveland area. Two different researchers can very easily derive contrasting findings from the same set of data, with both conclusions being technically sound. The problem is with the interpretation of statistical results.

One common practice in research is for the investigator to withhold statistical information that does not support his or her opinion. If, for example, a White investigator studies the problem of Black under-achievement in mathematics and finds a group of high performers, the findings may not be reported. Technical arguments relating to sampling error and statistical bias may be used as justification for not reporting the findings, but ultimately the decision is within the subjective control of the researcher. In this example, there is likely more benefit in further exploring the causes for higher than expected achievement.

The goal of research should be to find solutions to problems that exist, instead of detailing the problems. While this goal may seem reasonable, much of the research conducted on Blacks does not appear to have been undertaken on such a lofty premise. Despite the implicit objectivity, statistics are often used in a subjective fashion to benefit the investigator. Significance tests may be selected rather than descriptive or correlation methods for supporting a theoretical perspective. In fact, a researcher may use several statistical techniques in a study, reporting only those findings which provide significant support for the hypothesis.

The delicate balance between science and society is easily disturbed when blind acceptance is given to research reports enshrouded in statistical sophistication. Despite the technical complexity, methods used in research conducted on Blacks must be carefully reviewed and questioned. Studies that are statistically biased are often more damaging than those where the investigators views are revealed in substantive ways. If Blacks in Cleveland are to benefit from research activities, the studies should be conducted objectively, fairly, and without detrimental

statisical manipulations. Painstaking efforts should be made to ensure that methodological approaches are appropriate for the problems under investigation.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How the research problem is defined or the phrasing of a research question reveals quite a bit about the researcher's perspective and political consciousness. For instance, the question, "How can schools compensate for lack of encouragement at home for studying?" assumes that not only do parents provide little encouragement for their children to study but also that there is nothing that can be done to get them to do so. Thus, the researcher is looking for avenues to compensate for this home deficiency. This is a rather defeatist attitude. One would not anticipate much success with such a perspective.

The following are guidelines to be taken into consideration when designing educational research.

1. When doing educational research it is important to keep in mind that the schools are social institutions which have a dynamic relation with the political-economy and the ideology of the larger society. Thus, when defining a problem, it is often necessary to look outside the school for factors that may be impacting on the educational setting.
2. We need to define carefully key terms so that we are not using Euro-American performance-based definitions. That Whites tend to follow a particular pattern does not negate alternative patterns from being valid. Often we create a problem where none exists, because our instruments are designed to measure only one type of pattern.
3. We must exercise care in that the nature of the question does not imply some inherent cultural or racial disadvantage which places the blame unilaterally on the Black child or his/her community.
4. We should not assume that the Black child/community is passive and is not actively making decisions just because we do not approve of or understand the behaviors. When, for instance, a Black child fails a test, the tendency is to assume the child could not do any better. There is recent evidence to suggest that the child's low score may have more to do with a desire to perform than a lack of ability. Understanding why that child has *chosen* not to perform may shed valuable new light on the whole issues of underachievement. It may indeed turn out that the child could not do any better. In which case we need to explore ways of enabling the child to reach the goal. Most importantly, in neither instance is it suggested that the child's innate inability is the problem.

The following questions redirect thinking on old issues by asking the questions from a new perspective.

1. Which socialization goals of the schools are in conflict with African American cultural values?

2. What are the elements of a community support system which should be accessed to promote success in schools and life?
3. How can we maintain and stimulate a child's desire to learn?
4. Are there cultural and class biases in current instruments used for measuring achievement?
5. What are the organizational and other barriers to implementing factors we *know* characterize effective urban schools?
6. How can education compete with other experiences which are more exciting alternatives?
7. How does the total school environment affect success/failure?
8. How can we influence teacher expectancy for their students?
9. In a post-industrial society, what should be the role of schools?

The second problem with most research conducted by White investigators on Black samples relates to the usefulness of information generated from various studies. Primarily, problems existing within Black populations are described in great detail without the benefit of penetrating analysis into causes. Studies in health, economics, psychology, and education which are undertaken by White researchers usually result in a comprehensive description of problems which seem to plague the Black population. Even the major newspapers will conduct research on social and economic problems facing urban populations which largely contain individuals of African descent. The problem with all this research is that most of it provides no useful information on ways to solve the problems.

Conditions within the Black population are relatively easy to identify and describe. Reviewing achievement data from school districts will reveal that Blacks often perform at lower levels. Public health records certainly contain trends suggesting a poor health profile for Blacks who seek treatment in public facilities. Studies of urban economics and employment practices customarily reveal the below average income levels for many minority group families.

Essentially, most studies lack a perspective which would seek clear answers to the causes of these societal conditions, and a thrust toward proposing viable options for solutions. It is obvious that problems exist within settings where Blacks predominate, and it is rather easy to reveal the extent of these problems. What seems to be more difficult is to conduct research that reveals the more positive aspects of Black populations that are useful for developing solutions.

FOOTNOTE

[1] Most professional journals maintain editorial boards to review and monitor any materials submitted for publication. Individuals with expertise in a designated field are recruited for reviewing articles submitted for publication. In essence, the reviewers serve as "referees" for the journal.

Black Performance Arts In Cleveland

By Dolores Person Lairet, Ph.D.
Cleveland State University

INTRODUCTION

There is no concept of art for art's sake in an Afrocentric perspective. According to Rowland Abiodun, Yoruba art historian, Yoruba art represents the transformation of super-charged divine messages, too dangerous for ordinary humans to contain in their mortal state. These messages are relayed in stylized forms accessible to humankind. Thus the artist serves as a conduit, — a messenger who, through intense, sustained training and devotion to excellence, has developed the skills needed to accede to the higher spiritual planes of knowledge, and the techniques needed to translate this knowledge and experience through stylization.

Artists then, through their multi-media ceremonials and performances, keep the channels of communication open between the gods and humankind.

This discussion of the performance arts in Cleveland likewise contends that the function of art, in all its forms—musical, verbal, kinetic, visual—is to put us in touch with a higher plane of consciousness, to provide a point of contact with the higher truth and beauty that must inform our lives if they are to be full. When we lose that contact, lose that consciousness of ourselves as integral players in the cosmic scheme of things, lose the ability to commune with that other plane of super-reality, we risk the loss of our humanity. Thus the spectator's receptivity to art is no less valuable a spiritual experience than is the artist's performance.

In the context of the biology laboratory, the medium in which an organism is immersed to sustain and ensure its continued life is referred to as its culture. Culture is essential to life; it is the substance of life. Culture defines and is derived from the way we live our lives. It is not removed from our daily living to be stored in museums under glass, at least not traditionally; certainly not in the Afrocentric context.

Our awarenss of the role of creativity in all facets of life experience, and of the transformational nature of art, is essential to our ability to recognize, sustain, and revitalize our culture.

We recognize dance, literature, theater, music, painting and sculpture as the arts — highly stylized aesthetic components of culture. As such, the arts are dependent upon and connect inextricably to the whole political, economic, spiritual, and social fabric of a society. Although any art form is an individual

and dynamic expression which can be observed and experienced, independent of its cultural context, its creation and continued expression are rarely separated from that context for very long without disturbing consequences. Likewise, the quality and health of the individual artistic entity affect the quality and health of the total corpus, or society, from which it is derived. Thus, if the arts become estranged or isolated, independent of society, they are likely to become stagnant, lifeless, void of purpose save for art for art's sake.

• • •

From this point on in the narrative, I will sketch a broad historical context for the development of Cleveland's Black performing artists. Then selected case studies will serve to reflect the continuous evolution, current state, and future directions of various individual and group performance entities. The discussion is in no way intended to be a comprehensive survey, but rather an attempt to focus in on the attitudes, hopes, dreams, and obstacles shared by a select few of Cleveland's most visible artists and cultural activists.

BACKGROUND

When our African ancestors arrived on this continent as slaves, they were deculturalized in order to make them weak, docile, more inclined to be better slaves, dedicated to improving the slavemasters' condition. The cultural values which had provided them with identity, strength, guidance, and wisdom were attacked, at every level of existence. They were routinely subjected to physical abuse, even dismemberment and murder. The outward manifestations of their religious worship — drums, dance, songs, and myths — were suppressed and replaced with fear, ignorance, and a self-alienating caricature of European derived culture.

The African American community is still besieged, internally and externally, by forces intent on its demise. Dope is a substitute for hope. Illusion and delusion replace reality. Respect gives way to rampant crime, and unemployment is a plague that touches the very core of all our lives. Clearly, our reservoir of artists is not immune to these social dynamics. Without a strong, viable community, strong, viable artists cannot survive, and they are, indeed, disappearing at an alarming rate.

During the early twentieth century, particularly during the industrial boom of the First World War era when the North was still perceived as the promised land of jobs, justice, and freedom, thousands of southern Blacks migrated to Cleveland. Many who came were very talented singers, dancers, painters, actors, as well as excellent artisans. However, they found that the opportunity to ply their talents and trades was limited. There were no Black theaters, and Black performers were excluded from places designated for Whites only. Exceptionally, some found roles in plays like *Othello;* a few singers and musicians performed

recitals at black tie affairs that catered to upper class Whites. Ultimately, this had little or no effect on the Black artistic community or the community at large.

The Black church filled some of the void and served as a refuge where artists presented plays, recitals, and dance. But the church could not incorporate much of the secular talent of those who were not so religiously inclined.

Enter the night clubs, the after hour joints, private homes — which offered good opportunities for the Black performing artist. Soon Cleveland became a lively center for jazz and blues. Since music was easier to present, because production costs were minimal, the Majestic Hotel, Leo's Casino, Mister B's, and countless other lesser known spots flourished from the 1930s through the 1950s. Musicians and singers found a waiting audience which gave them the support they needed. Although they were hardly ever accepted as mainstream artists, those who were, were exploited by some club owners and record companies, and rarely received the recognition or the monies they deserved. Yet, through all of this, there was an essentially positive response from the Black community. In the neighborhoods, on side streets and in back alleys, these performers were inspirational heroes, innovators; the children admired and emulated them. There was no shortage of people trying and plying the musical arts.

CASE STUDIES

KARAMU HOUSE

The Black theater was a far more elusive medium to launch. There was no one major institution which focused on theater production of quality by and for African Americans. Again, the church, private homes and neighborhood centers, and even the streets served as outlets for the dramatic arts.

The Karamu House, first based in a wood frame house on East 38th Street off Central Avenue, was founded in 1915 by Russell and Rowena Jelliffe. It addressed the need for space to rehearse and perform. Although Karamu has often been thought of as a Black theater, the Jelliffes conceived it as an integrated theater where Blacks could perform and practice. It was never intended to have an African American focus. However, the New Negro Renaissance (1910-1940) provided people of African descent, all over the world, with a new direction in the arts. It took hold in Cleveland and breathed fresh life into the Karamu Theater with works by the likes of Langston Hughes and his peers. All the performing arts were revitalized, exuberant with creativity.

By the 1940s, Karamu had built and moved into its current quarters at East 89th Street and Quincy Avenue and had diversified and expanded its offerings. The many alumni who have performed throughout the world have helped to establish Karamu's reputation as an excellent training ground for aspiring Black artists, and rightfully so. Yet, at the center of the Karamu experience, one senses a basic cultural conflict that surfaces now and again, about Karamu's artistic direction or mission. Does Karamu reinforce the cultural identity of African Americans in whose immediate community it stands, or does it often encourage

and propagate token, hollow images, estranged from and alienating for that community?

These were the questions posed during the 1950s and 1960s when the new breed of Langston Hughes' artistic descendents burst upon the scene. There was a militancy in the air. Civil Rights and equality became the dominant themes. Black people, tired of their second class status, were protesting, rioting, marching for justice. Since the theater and the community are interdependent, it was only natural that the militancy should flow over into the theater.

Some people felt that Karamu was not reflecting the realities of the Black community. And while Karamu's internal factions disputed their differences, its popularity and production quality began to decline. As corporate funding lapsed and attendance faltered, the institution lost money at every turn while the community seemed to look the other way. Just fighting for everyday survival left many Black people little time for such frivolities as "the arts," especially if they did not reflect the realities most Blacks were facing. Others observed that the children who went to Karamu did not live in the neighborhood — rather they were "bused" or carpooled into the community from the outer lying areas of the city. Implicit in this observation was the view that in reality it was only the middle class children who could afford to attend and participate in Karamu's programs and events.

EAST CLEVELAND COMMUNITY THEATER

The time was ripe, the stage was set for the creation of the East Cleveland Community Theater (ECCT), a community service organization now in its twenty-first year. ECCT was originally conceived and founded by Gene and Chris Pace as a multi-racial association of theater lovers. The Paces began meeting with other members of the East Cleveland community at the church, which has since become the theater site, at Windermere and Euclid.

Initially, they performed at Kirk School. However, it has now become a very successful operation, playing to overflow, predominantly Black audiences. The artistic director and chief administrator, Chris Pace, laments the fact that they do not attract a more multi-racial audience to complement their blind casting policy. This casting system provides Black artists a real opportunity to win a role based on their performance skills rather than the ethnic or racial biases of the casting director.

Another unique policy that impacts significantly on their success is that ECCT presents superior productions at low cost. Thus many people who would never attend live dramatic performances at normal theater rates now enjoy that opportunity.

However, even though ECCT is thriving, it seems the more successful their attendance rates, the less funding they receive. Along with the grants they receive from the Ohio Arts Council and other agencies, they must also rely on annual membership subscriptions. It remains a struggle to keep operating costs

under control. Somehow, they manage to keep the doors open, the lights on and the heat flowing, and provide an invaluable opportunity for Black artists to hone their craft.

As previously noted, prior to the 1960s, Karamu had been the only game in town. If Black artists did not perform there, it was unlikely that they would gain recognition. However, during the 1960s, there was a surge of alternative theaters such as ECCT and the Humanist Theater. Most, like the latter, were short-lived for several reasons: (1) funding was scarce or non-existant; (2) the artists often lacked the discipline needed to stay the course; and (3) they were unable to gain community support. Nonetheless, they left a legacy which remains today: they left individuals and groups dedicated to the idea of promoting excellence in the performing arts with an Afrocentric perspective.

LIBRAN THEATER ENSEMBLE

John Jackson, Cleveland poet/director/video technician, is one such individual. The Libran Theatre Ensemble (LTE), which he founded, derives from the tradition of alternative theater that contends that the African American theater provides the forum where Blacks explore and redefine our own identity, transmit our values, celebrate and preserve the rituals, philosophies, hopes, sorrows, and dreams needed for our survival. Such theater allows us to see ourselves reflected in the life experiences re-created before us, providing us the feedback needed for growth and self-knowledge. Such theater acts as a courtroom from which our cries for justice and equality may be weighed. Such theater acts as a healing force that sustains and rejuvenates and is an avenue through which we may all channel our creativity.

The primary goal of John Jackson is to provide an accessible and acceptable deterrent to the alarming rise in the incidence of self-destructive behavior among Black people. *The Journey Within*, initially a collection of his poems, portrays the acceptance of positive self-images in exchange for negative ones as the first step toward establishing self-worth and, in turn, modifying destructive behavior.

Since much of our inner-city community does not spend substantial time reading poetry, Jackson felt that they were not likely to place high priority on buying a volume of his poems, unless expensive marketing strategies were undertaken. The wheels of the publishing world grind exceeding slow, especially for an obscure, non-affiliated Black poet, however. His desire to touch his immediate community with the shortest possible delay, and his appearance as a bit actor in three Karamu theater productions (1982-83) had convinced him that the theater was the most dynamic arena for involving and communicating directly with his audience. As the author's perception of the potential power of his work expanded to encompass a multi-genre dramatic presentation, he began to view instant feedback from an audience as an integral dimension in the process of change. He decided to produce a show in the neighborhood, offering to members of the community, who were willing, the challenge to create an alternative Black

theatrical experience — of the community, by the community, for the community.

Thus, the concept of the Libran Theatre Ensemble evolved as a creative, practical solution to the problem of providing and disseminating credible and accessible positive messages advocating excellence and realistic, positive change throughout the Black community. Jackson set about assembling a performance group, ultimately to be capable of presenting drama, comedy, music, and dance of the highest quality. He envisioned an ensemble structure in which all who wished would have the opportunity to present (i.e., produce and/or direct) projects of their choice, featuring the performers and the medium they preferred. The only *caveat:* the governing principle must be to re-create and cultivate positive images of change, and to assure that the quality of performance be undeniable.

The intimate contact with every element of Cleveland's rich kaleidoscope of characters, evidenced in Jackson's poetry, also informed his selection of ensemble members. And so the group came together, in the spring of 1983. It partook of this poet/plumber's vision, which he was able to articulate with eloquence and conviction. They would create a performance structure of mutual support for creativity whose goal is to effect edifying, sustained change in the performance participants, both performers and spectators.

The group came together: a veteran actor, disillusioned by routinely insensitive production experiences at well established Cleveland theaters; an undergraduate theater arts major who performs for the sheer joy of it, who has that "presence," in dance, song, or comedy that commands attention, but cannot be taught; a university professor who has done some modeling, some radio and television talk shows, dramatic poetry interpretation and coaching, and a lot of teaching; an accountant who has sung at innumerable weddings and funerals. . . no formal training, but a rich, enchanting voice, powerful, yet subtly nuanced; a poet/plumber/director with a convincing vision, the power of his convictions, and some dynamite material to infuse with life. These five came together and formed the core of what became the Libran Theatre Ensemble (LTE).

DANCE

According to Kyle Primous, dancer/choreographer/singer, member of LTE — and formerly a member of Footpath Dance Company — many people seem to feel that the life of a Black dancer is no different from that of any other dancer, if they think of dancers at all. In Cleveland, however, there are clear differences which the following discussion characterizes in four categories: training, performing, choreographing, and organizing.

If one intends to have a career as a dancer, one must be trained, and many African American students cannot afford tuition costs at the institutions known for their strong technique programs. These students usually depend upon some form of scholarship assistance to receive proper training. Of course, the irony is that no one is granted a scholarship for not knowing how to dance. Therefore, there

need to be quality facilities with affordable rates for our youth who show real interest. The now defunct Evans Dance Studio, formerly at East 88th Street and Euclid, was an effort in that direction.

Once a dancer is trained, he or she usually yearns to perform on stage somewhere. As there are no prominent Black dance companies in Cleveland with creative energy and technical prowess to give them sustained visibility and community support, Black dancers have to perform with and for White companies. And the few dancers who are fortunate enough to enjoy annual contract status usually do not earn enough money to support themselves unless they are principal dancers with a ballet company. How likely is that for the Black dancer in a White company?

Dancing for someone else usually means executing someone else's choreography, which is fine as long as one has no desire to create, explore, and experiment for oneself. Since there are no prominent African American dance companies in Cleveland which hire Black choreographers, a dancer who wants to branch into choreography usually has to turn to high school productions, local play houses and community theaters. These sites are indispensable since there is no other way to maintain and nurture the artists' desire to create.

African Americans must affirm our own direction, our own expertise, and create our own companies. The choreographer from those high school plays and community theaters mentioned above, should find as many good, professionally trained dancers as are available — even if it is only one initially — and form a company as Yatunde and Linda Thomas have struggled to do with the former Buku Ire and Imani Dancers, respectively. The key strategy is to convince all those other talented Black artists to collaborate and take charge of every aspect of the enterprise themselves. We must add managerial creativity to the mix. That is the challenge.

The task may seem overwhelming, the funds not readily available. But no one is going to fend for the Black dancer, nor for any African American in any other profession for that matter, except Black people. We must train our own and train them well so they can continue to inspire and train the next generation.

We must form our own organizations so these talented people can put what they have learned to positive use. We can no longer stand back and point the finger unless we are looking into and pointing at a mirror.

VISUAL ARTS

Ed Parker, one of Cleveland's most visible painter/sculptors, has worked tirelessly for the last twenty years, at least, to refine and share his gift, retain his artistic integrity, and prosper economically. Early on, he recognized that, by temperament and by training, most artists are ill-prepared to take control of the business aspect of their profession. So he took the precaution of studying business administration in order to complement his technical skills as an artist. The creative management style Parker has adopted is a direct result of his determi-

nation to challenge the starving artist syndrome, yet remain committed to his particularly African-American vision as he interprets and re-creates, in two and three dimensional form, the vitality of life in African-derived communities throughout the diaspora.

Cuyahoga Community College, where Parker is Assistant Professor of art, Snickerfritz, and the Edward E. Parker Creative Arts Complex are the organizational entities through which Parker channels his artistic and managerial creativity. These entities serve many needs: (1) sharing expertise with aspiring artists and artisans; (2) providing a studio and gallery, work and exhibition site accessible and attractive to the community; (3) providing a performance site for artists working in any other media — theater, music, dance — that is inviting to the Black community.

Originally conceived in 1975 as a working art studio and gallery, Snickerfritz has evolved into a cultural center exhibiting the works of Mr. Parker, and those artists invited to show in the gallery. Located on East 125th Street in a residential neighborhood closely bordered by the Buckeye-Woodland business district, "Snickerfritz reflects the art traditions of Black Africa synthesized through the homogeneous blend of European-American sytlistic concepts," according to Parker. Dedicated to showcasing the works of minority artists, past and present, Snickerfritz has featured the work of many mid-career artists and the works of some who have attained considerable celebrity, such as the late James Van der Zee.

In 1980, Snickerfritz also began to serve as a repository for African artifacts and memorabilia reflecting the lifestyle of Black America and included classes in sculpture, ceramics, drawing and painting. The Snickerfritz Art Gallery experience was made available to schools, colleges and community organizations through lectures, demonstrations and tours of the facility. Art seminar classes were offered to the more accomplished student as well as to those minorities seeking a recreational and creative outlet.

The Edward E. Parker Creative Arts Complex (EEPCAC) grew from the desire to expand Snickerfritz's contribution to the arts through the installation of a foundry to facilitate the casting of metal sculptures. This new entrepreneurial concept called for a larger, more appropriate location, and a new site for the studio gallery/complex was secured at the corner of Rosalind and Euclid in East Cleveland. The new location will make the services more accessible to the Cleveland art community. The foundry will generate revenues by providing a metal casting service. It will also serve as a training center for students and apprentices wishing to learn the metal casting technique. An art studio, classrooms, exhibition area and a framing center are also projected. Snickerfritz plans to offer a diverse art curriculum including sculpting, drawing and ceramics, an extended day school and summer classes for senior citizens, minorities, and the children within the community.

The structural and finishing improvements to the property, underway since 1987, are nearing completion. They should include a tea room and a solarium

to house a flower and gift shop for the gallery as well as hands-on teaching space. Several exhibit areas will house the permanent collection of the works of the owner, historic photography exhibits, a collection of art works for sale to the public, and a gallery for visiting artists' exhibitions. Ultimately, Parker envisions theater, music, and dance performance at EEPCAC, often using the various exhibit areas as performance sites.

Parker credits the four "C's" — Curiosity, Confidence, Courage, Consistency — as the guiding philosophy that has shaped his whole career and inspired this latest undertaking. He singles out Confidence as the most significant component of the construct, the one he feels most challenged to teach and model in his role as artist-teacher. That Confidence is based on the foresight to build a platform for oneself, i.e., excellence in one's chosen area of artistic expression; then undergird that platform with the business acumen to ensure a fair financial return for the effort; then teach and encourage other artists to do likewise. That is the mission of EEPCAC and Snickerfritz.

TERANGA HOUSE

Teranga is a Wolof term that can be loosely translated as "hospitality." But as a concept, *teranga* encompasses the total acceptance of a visitor, without reservation, within the host household, welcoming the visitor as a family member — not as a guest — who is to be completely integrated in all aspects of family life. In short, you cross the threshold and you are at home; you share in all that there is. You are one with your surroundings and with those who inhabit them with you.

The name and the naming process for Teranga House are filled with significance and promise, reflecting the vision of its founders, the Person-Lairet-Brown-Primous extended family. Since 1983, all have contributed their talents to LTE productions (as actors, assistant director, dancer, singer, graphic artist, typist, cook, costume and properties mistress) and their home as alternate or emergency rehearsal and meeting site.

Even in the early 1970s, pre-Northeast Ohio Jazz Society, this household was a gathering place for Cleveland jazz activists and musicians trying to establish a networking association, and visiting artists of national and international stature seeking respite from sterile hotel rooms and restaurants meals. In fact, as long ago as the 1930s and 1940s, the family patriarch, Oliver Person — who had fancied himself somewhat of a singer, and not totally without cause — had used the house as the gathering place for the likes of Charles Brown, Tiny Grimes, and Tad Dameron.

So it was with a sense of connectedness with a tradition that the family decided to formalize the haphazard spontaneity of its cultural activities and create a structure, an organizational entity, that would give focus to our many interests, engage and encourage all our talents. At the same time, it would provide an inviting site for other artists and community activists to gather, network, and perform. Given

LTE's frustration with episodic commitments for rehearsal space, we recognized the need for performance space for smaller innovative productions. And so Teranga House was conceived.

A site had been acquired, one of the turn of the century homes on Wade Park near East 111th Street, in the heart of University Circle. It provides an atmosphere of gracious warmth and strength, space with intimacy, elegance without pretention or commercialism. Although refurbishing is ongoing, there are meeting or seminar rooms of various sizes, a residential gallery setting for art exhibits, rehearsal space, facilities for food preparation, a projected music room, and ample grounds for outdoor events. Ritual ceremonials such as weddings, showers, and family reunions will also find an appropriate setting at the facility.

The premier event of Teranga House, "An Evening of Culture," was a fundraiser for LTE in July, 1988. There was an exhibit of selected paintings and sculpture by Prince Emanuell and Jim Jimoko, with a gallery talk by Jimoko; Ismael Mbaye, a Senegalese educator, spoke on the African/African American (Dakar/Cleveland) connection; LTE performed excerpts from "Relevations for a New World," and Guitar Slim and the Roaches provided the blues format that harmonized all these seemingly disparate cultural strands. The African diasporal experience is our context.

The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH) and the Cuyahoga County Black Women's Political Forum (CCBWPF) hold their regular meetings at Teranga House. Indeed, the initial response of groups like ASALH, CCBWPF, and LTE are encouraging and convince us that Teranga House is an exciting and progressive concept. Teranga House plans to offer classes in diction and elocution, physical fitness, sewing, foreign languages, African and African derived cultures, African American and Francophone African literature.

Compelling in its collaborative focus, supportive rather than competitive, Teranga House has already initiated cooperation with EEPCAC and looks forward to sharing programs which promote our mutual goals. The combined effort and commitment of artists and cultural activists, and the support, in terms of participation and funds, of the community we plan to serve are, of course, crucial to the continued existence and growth of Teranga House. The task is to nurture and perpetuate African American creative expression which reflects all facets of life experience. Therefore, all facets of Cleveland's Black community have a role to play, a stake in contributing to its success.

CONCLUSIONS

The major problems of the African American artist are distressing. They are:

- lack of funds;
- lack of suitable facilities;
- lack of community support;
- commercialism (by the larger American commercial culture);
- lack of creative control;

- lack of direction; and,
- need for innovation.

Nevertheless, talent abounds in our communities. Although it is often discouraged, denied, deceived, or exploited, this talent still yearns for creative expression. All of Cleveland's artists, in their own way, wish to take up the challenge to create a high quality, alternative African American performance experience. All call for a progressive performance structure of mutual support for creativity, one whose goal is to effect quantifiable, permanent change in the performance participants, both performers and spectators.

The concept of culture as essential to life can serve as the unifying principle, the common bond that precludes either artist or audience from underestimating and short-changing one another. We all share in the day-to-day struggle to confront life; in this way, we all may share in thr triumph realized through that confrontation.

The artists cited in this discussion respect that struggle, their work champions that triumph, and the love of life and the strength of spirit that infuse it. It is also their triumph. Their mission is to share, to nurture, to teach by example, and beautify and enrich all our lives in the process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Provide a budget for, and create an arts funding source that is non-prescriptive, i.e., does not infringe on creative freedom by imposing its own cultural biases. There should be a Board of Trustees composed of progressive artists, cultural activists, humanist educators, and business people, of representative age and generations, who are sensitive to the dynamics of African derived cultures.

   Board would have oversight responsibility to:

   - cultivate and maintain relations with other funding agencies
   - simplify the granting process and the grant proposals so that an expert grants person is not needed to write them;
   - shorten the turn-around time for awarding grant monies;
   - facilitate the purchase, or lease with option to buy, and appropriate rehabilitation of older spacious properties, such as former churches or mansions, factories or warehouses, as performance sites, galleries and studios, (particularly large unencumbered rooms which might be used as dance studios are at a premium);
   - facilitate the construction of new facilities for the above uses when appropriate;
   - allocate funds for more after-school cultural programs; and
   - allocate more funds for social and cultural programs in the neighborhoods, (some Ohio Arts Council programs try to address the need, but efforts such as "Artists in Residence" and "We Cleveland Heritage" rarely impact on the serious problems of disseminating artistic experiences in

the neighborhoods such that they become an integral part of people's lives)

2. Provide a budget for, and create an inclusive, organized collaborative networking association to help the various performance entities coordinate and pool their resources and performances efforts; with a Board of Trustees similar to that of the funding source described above in the first recommendation.

   Board would have oversight responsibility to:
   - cultivate and maintain relations with Cleveland area public school boards of education;
   - form a committee to ascertain the specific needs of the various artistic and performance entities;
   - organize and coordinate basic grant-writing and basic business procedures seminars, and other useful skills-building forums for the artists at nominal fees; and,
   - cultivate and coordinate more participation by community cultural groups in the public school curricula.
3. Artists and cultural activists must perfect our skills, use our energies to create our own institutions in our own communities, and share the aesthetic and financial benefits with the public.
4. Artists and cultural activists must respect the arts and those who support them by maintaining rigorous artistic and professional standards.

The author wishes to acknowledge the generous collaborative support from:
John Henry Jackson and
Kyle Primous
in writing this chapter.

Educating for a Global Perspective

By Prof. Gaston Ndyajunwoha
Cuyahoga Community College

INTRODUCTION

Although this book is primarily concerned with the *present* state of Black Cleveland, there is a great need for Black Clevelanders to anticipate the future educational needs of our children. And clearly one of the great needs which stands out to me as an education professional working in this community, is the need to educate children for a global perspective. The scores of nationalities represented in Cleveland, the cultural and religious diversity here mean that the world is at our doorstep. Education for world citizenship, therefore, has immediate and practical implications at home as it builds the basis for a better understanding of our neighbors.

In a broader sense, a global view will be a necessity for survival in the twenty-first century. The Cleveland Public Schools recognize that they are educating world, as well as community, citizens and this concept was succinctly articulated by Superintendent Al Tutela at a recent meeting of the Council on Human Relations.

In the introductory remarks to his speech, Mr. Tutela emphasized that the United States cannot maintain its competitive edge in the international marketplace without a highly educated population, and this includes all minority groups. A prerequisite to accomplishing this end, according to Mr. Tutela, is for everyone from every echelon of the Cleveland community to take ownership of the problem. He indicated that the general public has to take ownership of the drop-out problem, for instance, whether or not the drop-out phenomenon is a social problem or an enfranchisement problem. Either way, the community has a major responsibility.

Part of that responsibility has been addressed through the initiation of the Greater Cleveland Roundtable's Scholarship-in-Escrow, a private sector initiative. Project Learn, a program in which secondary school children under the age of eighteen and whose families are on welfare, receive $62.00 a month subsidy, exemplifies a similar initiative generated through the public sector.

Programs such as these, however, only represent the tip of the iceberg in terms of what is needed to offset the debilitating circumstances under which many Cleveland school children live. According to Tutela, children need nurturing, housing, and enfranchisement when they suffer because they are poor or members of minority groups. Mr. Tutela further insists that Ohioans must make the effort early to be effective. Unfortunately, these early efforts are thwarted by

a state law prohibiting the expenditure of public funds on education for children under the age of five. This limitation, as well as other such restrictions, have to be changed before meaningful early intervention strategies can be devised.

In addition, the recommendations in this chapter would require that the state greatly expand its definition of educational funding. This would include an expanded level of funding for parental awareness and community involvement efforts. Community involvement is crucial in the local development of a global perspective in education. This is because such a perspective requires a re-education of the public as well as the education of our children.

DEFINITION

A global perspective is a way of looking at the world that stresses both diversity and interdependence. While there is no one single course of study that can be labeled "Global Education," effective global education has these elements in common: 1) it is interdisciplinary and continuing; 2) it focuses on the world as a system and on individuals as participants in that system; and 3) it promotes both basic knowledge of the world today and a heightened sensitivity to the interactions of the various parts of the world system and the consequences of those interactions.

Increasing numbers of states are developing guidelines defining global education and its objectives. One such definition was adopted in 1978 by the Michigan Department of Education.

> Global education is the lifelong growth in understanding, through study and participation, of the world community and the interdependency of its people and systems — social, cultural, racial, economic, linguistic, technological, and ecological. Global education requires an understanding of the values and priorities of the many cultures of the world as well as the acquisition of basic concepts and principles related to the world community. Global education leads to implementation and application of the global perspective in striving for just and peaceful solutions to world problems.[1]

> Education for global perspectives is those forms of education or learning, formal or informal, which enhance the individual's ability to understand his or her condition in the community and the world. It includes the study of nations, cultures, and civilizations. . .with a focus on understanding how these are all interconnected and how they change, and on the individual's responsibility in this process. It provides the individual with a realistic perspective on world issues, problems and prospects, and an awareness of the relationships between an individual's enlightened self-interest and the concerns of people elsewhere in the world.[2]

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

It is important to stress that global education rests on — rather than detracts

from — the student's sense of national citizenship. Global education means, as Ward Morehouse has pointed our. "that the basic civic literacy which prepares the individual for American citizenship must include a reasoned awareness of . . . the way that global problems impinge upon and are linked with American communities, large and small."[3] Global education, in other words, teaches students they are citizens not only of their own town, state, and nation, but of the world.

Just as there are many definitions of global education, many goals and objectives have been identified by educators developing global education programs. Lee Anderson, a leader in the field, has identified specific capacities global education should foster:

1. A capacity to perceive oneself and all other individuals as members of a single species of life whose numbers share a common biological status, a common way of adapting to their natural environment, a common history, a common set of biological and psychological needs, common existential concerns, and common social problems.
2. A capacity to perceive oneself, the groups to which one belongs, and the human species as a whole as a part of the earth's ecosystem.
3. A capacity to perceive oneself and the groups to which one belongs as participants in the transactional social order.
4. A capacity to perceive oneself, one's community, one's nation, and one's civilization as both "culture borrowers" and "culture depositors" who both draw from and contribute to a "global bank of human culture" that has been and continues to be fed by contributions from all peoples, in all geographical regions, and in all periods of history.
5. A capacity self-consciously to perceive that the world system and its component elements are objects of perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, opinions, values, and assumptions on our part as well as the part of others.[5]

Identifying appropriate goals and objectives such as those Anderson has set forth, is a crucial step in implementing an effective global education program, but it is by no means the only set of decisions educators need to consider. During their initial discussions, principals and teachers may find the following kinds of questions useful:[6]

1. *Purpose and aims.* Should students be made aware of global issues regardless of community sensitivities to any of them? Are certain issues of such importance that they should be included in every student's education? If so, who decides which ones?
2. *Teaching approaches.* Should global studies be based primarily on the humanities, with concentration on literature, art, philosophy, or music? How much emphasis should be placed on traditional subjects like geography, history, or area studies? Should the program be organized around concepts, or

around topics? How much emphasis should there be on values and on basic skills?

3. *Time, scope, and procedures.* Should global studies be offered at every grade level? What ideas and concepts should be emphasized at what age levels? Should new courses be created or new units developed?
4. *Materials.* What materials are available, and how good are they? Who can help determine their accuracy and objectivity? Are materials available at different reading levels and different interest levels?
5. *Teachers.* What specific additional training will teachers need? Can pre-service and in-service experiences be provided that will do the job? Can workshops, outside consultants, local resource persons, or reading lists be used to help?
6. *Cost and evaluation.* Will additional funds be needed? If so, where do we get them? Can community resources be called on in this regard? What kind of evaluations are available? Do they fit our needs?

While some of these questions may seem deceptively simple, arriving at answers for them may be more difficult than meets the eye. As with any new school program, dealing with such concerns at the outset may save a great deal of time and energy later on — and assure a more effective educational experience.

In its 1978 Guidelines for Global Education, the Michigan Department of Education outlined the following specific goals, which are offered as a sample of work that has been done at the state level.

Global education in a school system will equip the student with an understanding and an awareness of global interdependence by providing encouragement and opportunity to:

- acquire a basic knowledge of various aspects of the world;
- develop a personal value and behavior system based on a global perspective;
- understand problems and potential problems that have global implications;
- explore solutions for global problems;
- develop a practical way of life based on global perspectives; and,
- participate responsibly in an interdependent world.

In order to accomplish these goals, a school system should provide both cognitive and affective experiences, such as:

- sequential study of world geography and at least one foreign language;
- sequential study involving the basic concepts of history, economics, politics, anthropology, science, and the arts;
- a study of various social, political and economic systems from a non-ethnocentric point of view;
- a study of international labor, business, communication, and travel networks;
- a study of the causes and effects of pollution and of the uses and abuses of energy;

- a study of the global implications of natural disasters;
- encounters with artistic expressions of other cultural groups;
- involvement in scientific studies from a global perspective;
- awareness of instances of the denial of human rights;
- exposure to different religions;
- awareness of the causes and solutions of domestic and world hunger;
- awareness of world health problems;
- strategies for resolving personal intergroup, and international conflicts;
- exposure to cultural activities of different racial and ethnic groups;
- participation in people-to-people exchange programs;
- person-to-person contacts with official and unofficial representatives of other countries; and,
- participation in community programs with a global orientation.

A FURTHER RATIONALE FOR GLOBAL EDUCATION

In the February 29, 1988 issue of the *Plain Dealer*, Professor Arthur Trace of John Carroll University, states:

> Ideally, the student with the best liberal (arts) education is the one who has learned how to think in seven basic ways: historically, aesthetically, philosophically, mathematically, scientifically, linguistically, and to complete the picture, theologically.

In the same *Plain Dealer* article, Ksenia Roschchakosky, Director, Public Relations at Notre Dame College, Ohio, says:

In fulfilling its stated mission, the College emphasizes the development of the person:

- who thinks, reasons, forms judgments, and communicates effectively;
- who understands fundamental principles and has the ability to analyze and weigh evidence;
- who prepares oneself realistically with practical skills;
- who retains an open mind and lifelong interest in learning;
- who cultivates one's social, aesthetic, and physical potentialities; and,
- who gives witness to the faith one professes.

In his recent report to the Harvard University Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Dean Henry Rosovsky cites five statements of basic rationale for changing their undergraduate curriculum. One of those statements refer to international education:

> An educated American in the last third of this century, cannot be provincial in the sense of being ignorant of other cultures and other times. It is no longer possible to conduct our lives without reference to the wider world within which we live. A crucial difference between the educated and the uneducated is the extent to which one's life experience is

viewed in wider contexts.

The intention here is not merely to avoid an exclusive focus on Western traditions but to expose students to the essential and distinctive features of major alien cultures, whether Western or non-Western".[7]

Thus the report to Harvard's Faculty declares that one of the five major elements meeting the requirements of the late twentieth century is global/international education. The report places international education on a plane of importance equal to three other requirements: literature and the arts; history, social and philosophical analysis; and science and mathematics.

Farmers, miners, production line workers — all feel the effects of developments in other countries in American prices, wages, unemployment. Every community in our country is a part of the world picture and therefore every citizen needs a world view.

Our crowded planet mandates a re-orientation to one another, individually and collectively. The Belgrade charter recognized this reality.

> We need nothing short of a new global ethic, (an) ethic which...recognizes and sensitively responds to the complex and everchanging relationships between man and nature, and between man and man. These new approaches...call for a reordering of national and regional priorities. Before this changing of priority can be achieved millions of individuals will themselves need to adjust their own priorities and assume a personal and individualized global ethic....The reform of educational processes systems is central to the building of this new development ethic...[9]

GUIDELINES OF COMMUNITY NEEDS

The community may push educational institutions towards global/multicultural education; on the other hand, these institutions may have to pull the community. Whichever alternative, these suggestions have proven successful.

1) Educate the community to its own potential through workshops on international education, lecture series with international speakers, and close contact with community ethnic groups.
2) Establish linkages with community agencies such as an international visitor's bureau or international conferences, where these are available.
3) Explore with other educational institutions in the community (high schools, colleges) ways of sharing resources.
4) Organize programs concentrating on local ethnic needs, utilizing community groups as models of various cultures.
5) Utilize data from community needs' assessment instruments conducted for the community service of the institution, e.g., the Multicultural Checklist.

180

6) Develop cooperation with local businesses; for example, a management institute could train business persons who will work and live in other countries.

7) Sponsor cultural arts weeks or activities, such as El Paso Community College Week, with the focus on multicultural, multilingual/international performances in the community.

8) Employ writers and artists in-residence who endorse and serve as models of community and international cultural cooperation.

PROPOSED PILOT PROJECT ACTION-PLAN OUTLINE

With the competitive pressures of the world marketplace already being felt here in Cleveland, and with the twenty-first century a little over a decade away, now is the time for a concerted effort to be made to educate our children and the wider community for a global perspective. This effort must come from local educational institutions, local corporations, individuals, scholarly organizations and all others who recognize Cleveland's potential to become a major international trade and cultural resource center for the mid-western region of the country.

The following points are the highlights of an *Education for Action Strategy* which can serve as the beginning of a comprehensive program to widen our educational horizons to embrace a global perspective.

ACTION	RESPONSIBILITY
1. Review *The State of Black Cleveland.*	Authors, State of Black Cleveland /Think Tank. Urban League of Greater Cleveland Think Tank
2. Design a Comprehensive K-12 School System or System Component (Cluster) and college Program to educate minority children and students.	Think Tank Planning Subcommittee, Area colleges, Corporate and Community representation
3. Design an "Education for Action" research and implementation plan.	Cleveland International Volunteer Organization/Education Committee. Africare/Cleveland Chapter, Africa-1000/Global Energy Society, World Conference of Mayors.

4. Create a Cleveland Metropolitan International Complex to include:

- an international Business Incubator/Job Corps Training Center.
- a Regional Clearinghouse on Global Education
- a Mini-World Trade Center
- Export Trading Company
- an International Restaurant and Guest House
- a community and student Development Credit Union
- an Energy Park and Headquarters of the Africa-1000 Project

5. Establish an International Executive Internship Program to introduce minority students and professionals to international career and business opportunities/entrepreneurships.

Think Tank, Greater Cleveland Roundtable and Cleveland World Trade Association.

In conclusion, the pilot project focuses on educational improvement job-creation. Economic development and innercity development/renewal to empower low-income and minority citizens of Cleveland with self-help tools and skills. Give poor people the light and they will find their way out of poverty.

NOTES

Guidelines for Global Education, (Lansing: State of Michigan Department of Education, 1978).

U.S. Commissioner of Education's Task Force for a Global Perspective, Report and Recommendations, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1979).

Ward Morehouse, editor, Toward the Achievement of Global Literacy in American Schools: Report on the Wingspread Workshop on Problem of Definition and Assessment of Global Education, (Washington: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1976). p. 2

Lee F. Anderson, *Schooling and Citizenship in a Global Age: An Exploration of the Meaning and Significance of Global Education*, (Bloomington: Mid-America Program for Global Perspectives in Education, 1979).

H. Thomas Collins, *Global Education and the States: Some Observations, Some Programs and Some Suggestions*, (Washington: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1978). pp. 67-68.

Henry Rosovsky, Harvard University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Report on the Core Curriculum, February 15, 1978. p. 4.

"The Belgrade Charter, Framework for Environmental Education," *Nature Study*, Vol. 29, No.'s 3 and 4, pp. 6-7.

FAMILY STATE

184

The Black Family: A Unique Social System in Transition

By Andrew W. Edwards, Ph.D.
Cleveland State University

Black Americans represent a social and cultural group that is bound by something greater than biological heritage. The roots of contemporary Black America include the Mediterranean region, Caribbean, South American, as well as East and West African ancestry. In addition to the various cultures represented by people of color, slavery allowed for a tremendous amount of biological intermingling of White Americans (European ancestry) with the African slaves. Thus, it is an over simplification to refer to the dominant West African heritage as if it were the sum total of the historical and biological root system for the contemporary Black American community. Yet, there is a sense of *community* among Black Americans, in spite of the diversity in biological and cultural heritage.

Social, political, and economic exploitation by White Americans through institutional structures helped develop a mind-set as well as a functional response by Black Americans that contributed to survival. Thus, adversity in the form of social, political, and economic discrimination helped mold the people of color into a *community*. Race has been an important concept because those with power, privilege, and prestige have insisted on such. Yet, race is not, nor has not been, a discrete, tangible, nor biological variable. Race is a social variable with economic and political manifestations and consequences.

The Black family has been socially defined and shaped by economic and political trends and traditions. The Black family, like the Black community in general grew to be emotionally close and functional as a response to the adversity inflicted upon it by the general society. The Black family developed into a meaningful social system that outlasted the restrictions of slavery. It became the central institution within the Black culture. The *micro system*, family, like the *macro system*, race, is not solely biological, but has open boundaries allowing for situational entrance.

Black culture should be viewed as a social system whose function and meaning are relative to the existing environment. Black and White cultures can be seen as different without being categorized into inferior or superior divisions.[1]

The Black family then, should not be viewed as a carbon copy of the White family system in America. Social and environmental advantages and/or sociocultural risks make family form and family perspectives cultural issues. Thus, it should be expected for White and Black families to vary in form and general

perspectives or traditions.

The impact of the broader society upon the Black family helps explain the similarities that individual Black families have that transcend regional boundaries and economic class. Another explanation for similarities of Black families is that a remnant of an Afrocentric value system survived slavery and was adopted as a cultural view by the varied oppressed people of color in the United States.

Traditional African social reality was, in fact, defined by a particular philosophical orientation. This philosophical orientation, or *ethos*, expresses two operational principles: the survival of the tribe and the oneness of being. Couple these two guiding principles with the several African philosophical, cosmological, and behavioral principles (i.e., unit, cooperative effort, mutual responsibility, reconciliation, etc.) and one is able to understand or put in perspective most, if not all, aspects of traditional and contemporary African social reality.[2]

Some of the unique expressions of Black family life that have evolved in America through social and environmental responses to adversity or those that have survived as remnants of an Afrocentric world view are:

- The extended family social system;
- Spirituality central to daily living;
- Communal view of live/mutual aid;
- High regard for children and the birth process; and,
- Respect for elders and aged in family and society.

Thus, philosophically, socially, and behaviorally, there is a Black culture (beyond soul food) that is expressed in Black family life. Views must be regarded as cultural when they transcend regional lines and economic strategies. However, it is possible for people who are seeking social upward mobility, to reject cultural ways in an attempt to be more acceptable to the White mainstream.

Sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, asserted that there is a Black culture. However, the "Black Bourgeoisie" has rejected the folk culture of the Negro mainstream.[3] However, since the cultural views and behaviors were functional and adaptive, the rejection of Black culture by Blacks in a racist society would invariably lead to anomie — a normlessness as well as a growing social, emotional, and economic dysfunction that could destroy the culture and cripple the family which is the primary institution within the culture.

SOCIAL CHANGE: LOSS OF FOLK TRADITIONS AND INCREASED SOCIAL DYSFUNCTION

Individualism and competition are two comprehensive values that are central to the American culture yet represent a conflict with Black folk tradition as expressed in Black family life.

In the United States, individualism as a cultural value, is codified in the Constitution. Individual liberty and individual rights are expressed or described, but there is no major focus on group responsibility and no mention of family in the

Constitution.[4] As a cultural value, individualism is taught and rewarded in most educational systems in the society. In the world of work, the orientation is generally individualistic production rather than group production. The general society is taught to express emotions in individualistic ways. Thus, the Western or European Cultural conception of grief, for instance, is private and individualistic. The conception of spiritual rejoicing is subtle, private, and individualistic — even in corporate worship.

However, the Black folk tradition includes the group consciousness, concern for the collective good, and commitment to sharing the group burden. This theme of mutual aid, unity or group survival is expressed emphatically in the old Negro spiritual music. The rejoicing tone of Black gospel music exemplifies the tradition of collective emotional experiences. Worship in the traditional Black culture is a group experience that is expressed and shared verbally and physically. The congregation was expected to give verbal feedback to the clergyman while he was speaking. The choir, in traditional Black culture, was not expected to be the sole provider of music for the worship service — rather, the choir actually led the congregation in music activity.

As E. Franklin Frazier described in *The Negro Church In America*, the Black church historically was "The Invisible Institution".[5] It was the institution in American society that was not owned nor controlled by Whites. Thus, it reflected the soul, the norms, views, and traditions of the Black masses. Since the church was a primary instrument for socializing the young, the Black cultural view was perpetuated. Therefore, group consciousness, concern for the collective good, and commitment to sharing the group burden was the cultural view accepted over the general cultural value of individualism. The Black church helped perpetuate the value of group consciousness that was expressed in Black family life.

Competition, the other cultural value that the Black community historically rejected was in conflict with *mutual aid* and *survival of the group* — a traditional value with African roots. Also, the institution of slavery reinforced the practice of the group (of slaves) working together. Thus, in a paradoxical manner, the Black folk tradition which had roots in Africa was reinforced by slavery and perpetuated as the disfranchised underclass throughout American history sought to defend itself from adversity.

Black Americans were restricted through political or social means from full participation in a capitalistic society after slavery was abolished. Thus, there was not much positive reinforcement for expressing competition in the economic sphere.

The Black church encouraged mutual aid. Many mutual aid societies for the benefit of freed slaves, mulatto families and other people of color that eventually became the *Black community* were formed by local (independent) Black church congregations. They were an early form of American emergency assistance programs. The primary focus was to provide financial assistance to families in times of sickness and death.[6]

The Civil Rights era, beginning with the mid-1950s, led to legislative changes

that included The Voting Rights Act of 1964. The Public Accommodations Act of 1965, and The Housing Act of 1968.[7] As various institutional barriers to participation in society were removed, the Black family in America developed a higher standard of living.

However, social change in the United States has brought stress to the psyche of the Black individual. Society has labeled the differences that the Black family expresses as deficiencies or social deviance. The extended family was not only expressive of traditional folk values and a remnant of an Afrocentric world view, but also it was an economic asset. However, individualism and competition as social values rendered this cultural tradition as deviant.

The Black folk tradition held that elders and aged ones in the family and community were given respect. However, in an individual oriented, capitalistic society, human dignity is seldom viewed as an inherent value. Human worth is often associated with work. In such a society those who cease to work, lose their social designation of worth. This philosophical issue has had a dramatic impact on the dynamics within the Black family. Black families used to teach children that any respectable elder in the community could administer punishment to the child if the adult observed the child doing something wrong. The child was expected to accept the punishment from the adult-non-relative as an expression of respect.

Black families for the last twenty years have seen rising unemployment, particularly among the men. Also, due to historical institutional racism in employment practices, the Black elderly have smaller retirement incomes. A disproportionate number of Blacks worked in jobs that had very small or no retirement plan (i.e., domestic workers, farm laborers, self employed construction workers, janitors, mechanics, hotel/restaurant workers, musicians, ministers, etc.). Thus, Black men and elderly are viewed too often as less productive than the norm in our society. Since work is mentally associated with worth, there should be no surprise at the contemporary expression of disrespect toward the men and elderly in the Black family.

The traditional, emotionally cohesive family is experiencing emotional distress as a result of social change and value conflict. In 1971, sociologist Robert B. Hill wrote his pioneering book entitled, *The Strengths of Black Families*, focusing on: strong kinship bonds; strong work orientation; adaptability of family roles; strong achievement orientation; and strong religious orientation.[8] The current socio-cultural risks are threatening the transmittal pattern of the strengths traditionally maintained through Black culture.

The high value/regard for children and the childbirth process is another issue illustrating stress due to social change. The Afrocentric value system traditionally regarded life as sacred and the childbirth process was culturally respected. The contemporary Black family reflects a remnant of the Afrocentric value system in the birth rate.

Currently, over half of all Black births and 8 percent of White births are out of wedlock. Since the 1973 Supreme Court ruling, which struck down

restrictive state laws regarding abortion – especially during the first three months of pregnancy – legal abortions increasingly have been used as a means of fertility control.[9]

Of the 1.6 million abortions performed annually in the United States, most are obtained by young, White, unmarried women – 63 percent are age twenty-four or younger; 70 percent are White, and 81 percent are unmarried.[10]

It is difficult to capture an accurate picture of Black Americans' utilization and acceptance of abortion because most of the related data is derived from information compiled by public health agencies. A large number of pregnancies are terminated annually in medical procedures in private medical offices that could possibly allow for reporting of the terminated pregnancy in a different category. Since Whites utilize private physicians services more so than Blacks, there is probably a greater under reporting of White abortions as compared to Blacks.

Thus, the data from public health sources that suggests that 70-74 percent of abortions in a given year are for Caucasian women, is perceived by many social scientists as an underestimate.

Some survey results support the above premise and disagree with public health data. One such survey indicated that in a sample of White college educated women who had become pregnant prior to marriage, 83 percent obtained abortions. Social class as well as race are variables that influence the cultural response to pregnancy. In the same survey, only 25 percent of the Black women with high school educations has induced abortions.[11] It should be noted that the majority of the Black community's pregnancies are within the lower socio-economic strata – the group that has the lowest abortion rate.

A survey seeking to explore race consciousness among Black Americans and the fear of race genocide asked: "If you had the desired number of children, would you have an abortion (female) or encourage your partner to have an abortion (male)." Of the Black respondents, 71 percent rejected abortion as an option for birth control.[12]

The general society has been expressing alarm and outrage at the larger number of births outside of marriage by young Black girls and women. People often refer to the data concerning the Black birth rate, and then imply subcultural immorality or social deviance. However, such a view is ethnocentric and invalid. The more comprehensive data suggests that Blacks definitely do have more babies proportionately out-of-wedlock. But Whites have a larger number, and proportionately greater acceptance of, abortion as a means of birth control.

Research surveys indicate that, in general, the sexual behavior of Blacks and Whites is similar. The sexual experiences that had major variation and statistical significance were few in number (i.e., Black males were more likely to have experienced interracial intercourse than White males; Black males avoided masturbation more so than White males; Black females were significantly less likely to have performed oral sex, etc.)[13]

Thus, the issue is not whether or not Blacks are more sexually active than Whites; nor is the key issue related to one race or culture being more moral than

the other. The key issue underlying such data seems to be: what is the cultural response to pregnancy? The social orientation of Blacks makes greater allowance for birth outside of wedlock.

As a social work educator, I am suggesting that the Black cultural response is actually a remnant of the Afrocentric value system that regards human life as sacred and respects the childbirth process. Yet, society has labeled this response to pregnancy as deviant. As more Blacks begin to accept the view of the deviant response, tension increases with the traditional view in the Black community. Thus, we see the contemporary Black family in a state of tension, wavering between two world views, or underlying philosophies, guiding behavior.

The decrease of spirituality in the Black community, the resocialization that has led to the rejection of the extended family; rejection of communal views and mutual aid; rejection of the tradition of honoring and respecting elders and aged members of the family and community; and the growing rejection (by accepting the deviant label) of the high regard for children and the birth process, has led the Black family to a transition phase. This contemporary phase is actually a crisis. By losing these values, too many in the Black community are becoming victims of socio-cultural risks.

Too many of our children are still sliding backwards. Compared to White children, Black children are twice as likely to die in the first year of life, have mothers who receive late or no prenatal care, or be born poor. In 1986, 43 percent of Black children under eighteen years-old lived in poverty, compared to 16 percent of White children.

In 1985, there were 8.5 million Black youth in the ten to twenty-four year-old range. Black males accounted for nearly 3 million in the fifteen to twenty-four year-old category. Since nearly half of the total Black population is composed of children and youth, the median age for Blacks is 25.9 years, as compared to a median age of 31.8 for Whites. Thus, any social and economic problems in the Black community will have disproportionate impact on Black youth under the age of twenty-five.[15]

Young Black males are stereotyped by the five "d's": dumb, deprived, dangerous, deviant, and disturbed. There is no room in this picture for comprehension, caring, or compassion of the plight of these young Black men.[16] The "Joe Clark" bat philosophy is glorified by society, according to American Council of Education, Minority Office Director Reginald Wilson, as the preferred way of dealing with Black youth. The self-fulfilling prophecy, the expectations and behavioral reactions of the broader community, actually help shape their attitude, and ultimately limit the consideration of some options in life.

Children in Black, female-headed families are five times as likely to be on welfare than those in intact Black families. Thus, male children in female-headed families are not only reared without fathers as role models, but are also reared in families triply stigmatized by being Black, single-parent, and on welfare. Furthermore, youth in these families are more likely to live in substandard housing, to attend inferior schools, to have inadequate health and dental care, to have

higher rates of chronic illnesses, to have more behavioral problems, and to live in deteriorating neighborhoods with high crime rates, poor services, and inadequate public transportation.[17]

SOCIOCULTURAL RISKS AFFECTING BLACK FAMILIES IN METROPOLITAN CLEVELAND

In 1988, more than one-fifth of the population of Cuyahoga County lived below the 125 percent poverty level. The 125 percent poverty level is an important income standard because it is a measure of the "near poor" population. It is also at or near the client income eligibility standard for a number of governmental programs that are targeted to the poor, including food stamps. In Cleveland and East Cleveland, this proportion approaches one-half of the entire population.[18]

Suburbs where this rate exceeds ten percent include East Cleveland, Warrensville Township, North Randall, Woodmere, Newburgh Heights, Warrensville Heights, Lakewood, Garfield Heights, Cleveland Heights, Euclid, Shaker Heights, and Fairview Park. This list includes all of the inner-ring suburbs located immediately east and west of the city of Cleveland.[19]

Thus, as Black families move outward from the central city to locate in fringe suburbs, they settle in communities where there is a considerable population of "near poor".

The state's highest poverty rates are found in Appalachian counties. However, that region contains relatively little of the state's total population. Consequently, most of Ohio's poor people live in the large cities. The total number of poor persons in Ohio's 28 Appalachian counties is currently about 241,000. However, metropolitan Cleveland by itself contains more than 260,000 poor people, which exceeds the combined population of the poor in all of the Appalachian counties.[20]

The state's urban counties contain most of its poor residents. Poverty is not evenly distributed among Ohio's demographic groups. Households headed by females, minorities, and children suffer from poverty rates that are significantly higher than those experienced by two parent households, Whites, and adults. The census data for 1980 found that 26.2 percent of all Blacks in Ohio were poor, which was more than triple the rate for Whites (8.2 percent). Even though more than one-quarter of all Black Ohio residents are poor, the rate is considerably higher for certain counties. More than two-fifths of Cuyahoga County's Blacks were poor in 1988.[21] Cuyahoga County (metropolitan Cleveland) had the highest poverty rate in 1988, among the state's ten largest urban counties.[22]

Cuyahoga County suffered from an alarming 40 percent increase in its poverty rate during the 1980s, which is well above the 4 percent increase in the national average. In the city of Cleveland, two out of every five people live in poverty, defined as an income below $5,770 a year for a single person, or under $9,690 a year for a family of three.[23]

Cleveland's economy has been heavily dependent upon manufacturing for more than a century. But in the last nine years, 31 percent of metropolitan Cleveland's jobs related to manufacturing production have permanently

disappeared. The rate of job loss has exceeded the rate of job creation. Many of the region's new jobs are located in suburban fringe areas that are far from our poorest neighborhoods and represent a transportation problem to the poor who rely on public transportation.

One must realize that poverty is generally not a chosen lifestyle. It is the consequence of unemployment. High unemployment feeds a vicious cycle, which includes poorly equipped schools that are the result of low tax revenue; high crime rates; illicit drug use; ecological pollution; disease; dilapidated housing; youth gangs; situational prostitution; high infant mortality rates; emotional stress, acute anxiety, and depression. These are examples of sociocultural risks confronting Black families in metropolitan Cleveland.

In recent years the Black infant mortality rate in Cuyahoga County has been more than twice that of Whites. Also, an alarming number of Black babies have dangerously low birth rates. Of Black mothers in Cuyahoga County, 35 percent received no prenatal care until they were four months pregnant. Furthermore, Cleveland had the second highest rate of births to teenage mothers among major U.S. cities in 1982. During that year, more than one in every five births was to a teenage mother — only Baltimore ranked higher during that year.[25]

Increased adolescent sexual activity, particularly with multiple partners, could be related to or caused by a variety of circumstances and issues related to the urban environment. Latchkey children are more prone to engage in sexual experimentation or activity than children in homes where parents or caretakers are responsible for them immediately after school. Adolescent sexual acting out could be a function of low self concept in girls, and a high self-concept in boys as they seek to develop new social identities and respond to peer pressure.[26]

The sexual behavior of the urban teenagers is not a unique racial phenomenon. However, the response to the resulting pregnancies is overwhelmingly influenced by race and cultural expectations.

The data presented in this section show the social and environmental context surrounding the Black families of metropolitan Cleveland. The social and environmental context indicates that Black families are indeed at risk and vulnerable. A great deal of the dysfunctional behavior and many negative attitudes in the Black family structure are actually responses to stress and maladaptation to sociocultural risks.

With the slowly evolving disregard for some of the Black family's *traditional* functional folkways, along with the various sociocultural risks, the Black families in metropolitan Cleveland are struggling with underlying issues related to *form* and *function*. Underlying issues include boundaries — who is to be considered my "family"? Are grandparents MY family? Are children born prior to marriage part of the family after marriage? Underlying functional issues may include responsibility dilemmas — for what relatives am I responsible? Am I responsible for my spouse's children born through involvement with another prior to our marriage? The disregard of the old folkways makes these questions problematic in contemporary Black families.

LOCAL COMMUNITY PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES RESPONDING TO THE BLACK FAMILY CRISIS

The Black family is NOT on the brink of extinction as a social system in Cleveland, even though the Black family in general is considered to be vulnerable to sociocultural risks. There are several local community organizations, social programs, and agencies that have responded very well as support systems for Black families struggling with socio-cultural risks.

One arbitrary way of categorizing some of the effective support systems is to describe some under the heading of, "General Family Support Systems", and others under the heading of "Culturally Specific Family Support Systems."

Some of the effective general family support systems include, Ohio Boys' Town — Cleveland Facility; Belleflower Center for Prevention of Child Abuse; Children's Services, Inc.; Maternal and Infant Care Program; Bellefaire (residential treatment center); Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Greater Cleveland; Center for Human Services; Kathryn S. Tyler Center; Murtis Taylor Multiservice Center; Friendly Inn Settlement; Rape Crisis Center; Goodrich-Gannett Neighborhood Center; Victim/Witness (domestic violence) Service Center; Central Mediation Services; and Job Corps.

This list is not intended to be comprehensive or all-inclusive of the effective general family support systems in metropolitan Cleveland. It does however show the wide range of support services and foci for professional social service intervention for families. All of the agencies listed above, employ professionals of various disciplines and/or social work consultants skilled in working with families or individuals reacting to or experiencing maladaptation to social environmental stress, racism, inadequate resources, limited interpersonal skills, "miseducation", limited education, value conflict, etc. The professional staff at such agencies work to enhance coping skills of the individuals and to remediate social problems that may hinder the individual or family from productive living.

Also, there are several research oriented, social change/policy oriented agencies and programs that indirectly are supportive of Black families. Among such agencies are, The Council for Economic Opportunities in Greater Cleveland; the Urban League of Greater Cleveland; Greater Cleveland InterChurch Council; and the Welfare Rights Organization of Greater Cleveland.

The culturally specific family support programs accept as a basic premise, the belief that certain Black cultural folk traditions and/or remnants of Afrocentric values are functional and will help remedy and/or prevent certain personal and social problems if they are accepted as part of the Black family lifestyle. Among the culturally specific programs and agencies in metropolitan Cleveland are, Harambee — Services to Black Families; East End Neighborhood House Association; Black Focus on the West Side; Karamu House Theatre; and Teen Fathers. These programs and agencies offer counseling, various social work services, recreation, social activities, cultural events, yet maintain a Black cultural perspective that stresses the enhancement of individual and family social

functioning in the context of the broader society.

CONCLUSION: GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CREATIVE CHANGE

The Black family is experiencing a crisis due to the abdication of certain traditional customs and behaviors that were functional, while at the same time sociocultural risks have remained and governmental support programs have decreased.

The use of illicit drugs, teenage rebellious activity, domestic violence, irresponsible sexual behavior, individual depression, chronic anxiety, and certain other emotional disturbances are often termed *social pathology* (or sickness or deviance). However, it is erroneous to view the above as "social problems". All of the above are *symptoms* of a problem. The problem is FAMILY DYSFUNCTION.

The general family support systems, the culturally specific family support systems, and the Black church must work toward the development of more programs that teach or instill, self worth, universal values, human responsibility, spirituality, individual accountability, mutual aid/social responsibility, decision making/problem solving skills, and cultural expression of values that are functional. Along with stressing all of the above, deemphasizing competition and individualism in human relationships may create a more humane and balanced view of family life.

I am not suggesting new agencies nor new programs. However, I am suggesting that current programs be redirected toward more holistic ends. Addressing social, emotional, physical, intellectual, and spiritual issues in a functional cultural context will help social workers, counselors, psychologists, clergy and other human service practitioners increase their effectiveness in working with vulnerable Black families. Then the sense of community will be a positive cultural expression rather than a survival strategy.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Staples, Robert. *Introduction To Black Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976, p. 11

[2] Nobles, Wade. "Africanity: Its Role In Black Families" in *The Black Family: Essays and Studies, Second Edition*. Robert Staples, ed. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. 1978. pp. 19-26.

[3] Frazier, E. Franklin. *Black Bourgeoisie*. New York: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 98-99

[4] The Constitution of The Unites States of America

[5] Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro Church In America*. New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1974, pp. 23-25.

[6] Ibid., pp. 40-43

[7] Cottingham, Clement Jr., "Blacks In Transition: An Overview of Afro-Americans" in *The Social Reality of Ethnic America*, by Rudolph Gomez, et al. eds. Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974, pp. 1-17

[8] Hill, Robert B. *The Strengths of Black Families*. New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, Inc., 1971.

[9] Levitan, Sar A. and Richard S. Belous. "Children Out of Wedlock" in *Marriage and Family In A Changing Society, Second Edition*. James M. Henslin, ed. New York: The Free Press, 1985, pp. 381-385.

[10] Knox, David. *Choices In Relationships: An Introduction to Marriage And The Family, Second Edition*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company: 1988, pp. 454-455.

[11] Ryan, William. *Blaming the Victim, Revised, Updated Edition*. New York: Vintage Books, 1976. pp. 97-101.

[12] Darity, William and Castellano Turner. "Family Planning, Race Consciousness and the Fear of Race Genocide" in *The Black Family: Essay and Studies, Second Edition*. Robert Staples, ed. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1978.

[13] Knox, David. *Choices In Relationships: An Introduction To Marriage And The Family*, Second Edition. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1988, pp. 103-106

[14] Edleman, Marian Wright. "We Must Convey To Children That We Believe In Them", in *Ebony*, Vol. 43, No. 10, 1988, pp. 128-130.

[15] Gibbs, Jewelle Taylor. "Young Black Males In America: Endangered, Embittered and Embattled: in *Young, Black, and Male in America; An Endangered Species*. Jewelle Taylor Gibbs, ed. Dover, Massachusetts: Auburn House Publishing Company, 1988, pp. 1-36.

[16] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[17] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[18] Council For Economic Opportunities In Greater Cleveland. *Poverty Indicators, Trends: 1970-1980, Cuyahoga County, Ohio*. Cleveland, Ohio: C.E.O.G.C., 1988, Vol. 6, pp. 48-49.

[19] Ibid., p. 48

[20] Ibid., Vol. 3, pp.53-55.

[21] Ibid., Vol. 3, pg. 55-62.

[22] Ibid., Vol. 3, pg. 79.

[23] Zeller George. "Poverty A Growing Menance Here" in *The Plain Dealer*. Cleveland, Ohio: December 19, 1988, p. 1-E.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Diemer, Tom. "Outlook Is Black Children, Report Says" in *The Plain Dealer*. Cleveland, Ohio: June 4, 1995, pp. 1-A, 10-A.

[26] Specht, Riva and Grace J. Craig. *Human Development: A Social Work Perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. pp. 160-163.

The Crisis of Teenage Pregnancy

By D. Hendricks-Sterling, Ph.D.

Increasing numbers of Black children in Greater Cleveland are bearing children of their own. These thousands of child-mothers are under severe physical, emotional and financial stress. Almost all are unwed. The health care they receive is inadequate, the vast majority drop out of school which leads to lost employment opportunities. A bleak future of life of public assistance dependency is all that most can expect.

Cleveland's Black leadership has worked diligently to create programs to encourage a sense of personal responsibility and self-respect to prevent the numbers of pregnancies from escalating. But the numbers have not decreased and programs to help teenage mothers to cope with the harsh realities of single parenthood are increasingly in demand. While we can look to some successes in recent years, the growing numbers of teen mothers and the wide circle of lives that they affect, has reached crisis proportions.

Although the Black community has always known poverty, we have always had strong family ties which have given us the resilience and stability needed to succeed. The impact on our community of thousands of children being born into circumstances devoid of this kind of support indicates social and economic trouble ahead of us.

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF TEEN PREGNANCY IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY

The following table shows that there has been a marked increase in the number of unwed teenage mothers — both Black and White — over the past twenty years. In 1960, 801 babies were born to unmarried teens [ages 10-19] in Cuyahoga County. This figure represents about 20 percent of the total number of births to teens that year. By 1984, the number had increased to 2,038 and accounted for 77.8 percent of all births for teens. In 1960, 8.4 percent of White teen mothers were unmarried. By 1984, that statistic had soared to 56.7 percent. Similarly, in 1960, 43.1 percent of Black teen mothers were unmarried; by 1984 that figure had more than doubled to reach an alarming 94.2 percent.

Table I[1]
Births to Unmarried Teens, by Race, Number and Percent of All Births to Teens, Cuyahoga County 1960, 1970, 1979-1984

	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
Year	Number	Percent of All Births to Teens	Number	Percent of All Births to Teens	Number	Percent of All Births to Teens
1960[a]	801	21.5	194	8.4	607	43.1
1970	2,143	45.5	431	19.2	1,712	69.5
1979	2,253	67.2	633	41.6	1,616	88.2
1980	2,320	71.5	715	48.3	1,597	91.0
1981	2,207	71.2	679	47.7	1,523	91.4
1982	2,223	74.5	704	52.8	1,510	92.2
1983	2,186	76.0	653	54.8	1,528	93.3
1984	2,033	77.8	642	56.7	1,391	94.2
1985	2,138	79.3	N/A	—	N/A	—

[a]The data in Table 1 are incomplete as the total number of live births from which the percentages are derived were not indicated by the Children's Defense Fund.

Table reads: In 1960, one in five babies born to teenagers in Cuyahoga County was born out-of-wedlock; for White teenagers, one in 12 babies was born out-of-wedlock, over three-fourths of babies born to Cuyahoga County teenagers were born out-of-wedlock; for White teenagers, over half of their babies were born out-of-wedlock, and for Blacks, nearly 95% of their babies were born out-of-wedlock.

In further defining the extent of this problem, it is worth noting that:

- 255 children born in Cuyahoga County in 1985 were born to mothers 15 years or younger (a decrease of 25 births from the previous year).
- 330 children born in Cuyahoga County in 1985 were born to 16 year olds (this was an increase of 30 births over 1984).
- nearly 500 children born in Cuyahoga County in 1984 were born to 17 year olds.
- Cuyahoga had the highest rate of unmarried teen births among the 88 counties of Ohio in 1985.
- 26 percent of the teen-mothers in Cleveland who had a child in 1983 already had at least one other child.
- approximately three-quarters of the births to Cuyahoga County teens in 1984 were to Cleveland residents; the remaining one-quarter were to residents of the suburbs.

TEEN BIRTHS IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY[2]

Cuyahoga County has the largest non-White population of any county in the state.

In 1984, Cuyahoga County accounted for 13 percent of the total number of live births to teens in Ohio.

The latest data available indicate that the county has more births to the younger teen age categories than the state as a whole. Approximately 10 percent of the total adolescent mothers in Cuyahoga County were 15 years or younger. The state figure for this category is 7 percent. When the 16-year-olds are added, we find that the category then includes 21 percent of all adolescent mothers. On a statewide level, 18 percent of adolescent mothers are 16 or under.

Table 2
NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS BY AGE OF MOTHER
CUYAHOGA, COUNTY, 1984

Age of Mother	Number Live Births	Percent	Cumulative Percent
12	6	.2	.2
13	11	.4	.6
14	66	2.5	3.1
15	178	7.0	10.0
16	293	11.0	21.1
17	488	18.6	39.7
18	694	26.5	66.2
19	883	33.7	100.0
Total	2619	100.0	100.0

The data indicated that in the area of education level achieved by teen mothers, Cuyahoga County mirrors the state data. Table 3 shows that 92 percent finished the tenth grade or beyond; only 8 percent dropped out after the eighth grade.

Despite the fact that many of the teen mothers do manage to remain in high school, only 15 percent of the White teen mothers and 17 percent of the Black teen mothers actually graduated in 1984.

Table 3
LAST GRADE COMPLETED OF TEENAGE MOTHER BY RACE[3]
CUYAHOGA COUNTY, 1984

	TOTAL[a] Grade Level			WHITE Grade Level			BLACK Grade Level		
AGES	1-8	9-11	12	1-9	9-11	12	1-9	9-11	12
12-14	64	14	0	5	2	0	58	12	6
15-19	126	1466	800	79	654	370	46	807	428
Totals	190	1480	800	84	656	370	104	819	428

[a]Table totals will not always equal actual Total due to missing values.

As illustrated in Table 1, over 75 percent of Cuyahoga County's teen mothers were unwed in the sample year of 1984. Black adolescents account for 68 percent of this figure.

The actual number of out-of-wedlock births has been declining since the peak of 1,712 in 1970, but the *rate* of such births has increased by 6.3 percent over the same period. The rate of out-of-wedlock births is up 8.4 percent for the White population and up 3.2 percent for the Black population.

These statistics on age, education, number of births, and out-of-wedlock are in line with those for the state of Ohio as a whole.

BIRTHS TO TEENS IN THE CITY OF CLEVELAND

The teen birth rates for Cleveland represent 76 percent of the total teen birth rate for Cuyahoga County.

Births to adolescents 12 - 14 years old represent 3.5 percent of Cleveland's total live birth population.

For Cuyahoga County then, the statistics on age, education, number of births, and out-of-wedlock parallel the status of teen birth information for the state of Ohio. Thus, the problems and concerns of the state are also those of Cuyahoga County, i.e., a population of young, undereducated and unmarried teen mothers.

CLEVELAND BIRTHS

The birth rates for Cleveland represent 76 percent of the total birth rate for Cuyahoga County. Births to adolescents 12-14 years old are 3.5 percent of Cleveland's total live birth population (N = 1985) with non-White teens comprising 3.3 percent of this amount (Table 4). The number of out-of-wedlock births constitutes 80 percent of all Cleveland live births, somewhat higher than for Cuyahoga County — (59 percent of unmarried teen pregnancies occur to non-White adolescents).

The data revealed that 68 percent of these teens do not complete high school (31 percent — White; 37 percent — Black). However, it can be noted that 15 percent of the White populalation and 17 percent of the Black did finish twelfth grade. For Cuyahoga County, 1984, 25 percent of teens giving birth already had at least one child. Finally, over 75 percent of these teen mothers were unmarried (Table 1). Black adolescents account for 68 percent of this figure, while the White teens represent the remaining 32 percent. However, while the actual number of out-of-wedlock births to teens in Cuyahoga County has declined, the overall rate has increased by 6.3 percent, (8.4 percent rate of increase for White population, and 3.2 percent rate of increase for Black).

Table 4
BIRTHS TO TEENS BY MARITAL STATUS AND RACE[a]
CLEVELAND, 1984

	WHITE	NON-WHITE[b]	TOTAL
Legitimate Births	(N = 745)	(N = 1240)	(N = 1985)
12-14	—	—	—
15-19	332(45)[a]	73(6)	405(20)

a) percent include in parenthesis.

b) Non-White signifies all non-caucasian races; however the largest proportion of this population is Black.

An analysis of Cleveland's population by Statistical Planning Areas reveals the following picture of teen birth rates in the city.

Cleveland SPA's with the highest teen birth rates

Area	Percent
Central	10.2
Hough	8.3
Union Miles Park	8.1
Woodland Hills	8.1
Ohio City	7.8
Kinsman	7.8
Glenville	7.5
Fairfax	7.0

Clevelands SPA's with the lowest birth rates

Area	Percent
North Collinwood	3.8
Puritax — Longmead	2.4
West Boulevard	2.2
University	1.8
Old Brooklyn	1.1
Jefferson	.9
Riverside	.8
Kamms Corner	.7

Although the areas with highest rates of teen pregnancies are predominantly Black, it should not be concluded that the primary association with teen pregnancy is race. The SPA data reflect the fact that the majority of Black families in Cleveland are poor. The Near West Side is predominantly White but also poor and the pregnancy rate is comparable with the rate in poor Black neighborhoods. The Children's Defense Fund (1986) reported that the highest teenage pregnancy rates in Ohio are found in the poor, predominantly White Appalachian counties

of Southern Ohio. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that high rates of teenage pregnancy and low socio-economic status are closely related.

In the SPA's with the lowest rates of teen births the median income levels were equal to or higher than the National Median. Median income is $15,240 in North Collinwood, for instance, and $19,273 in Riverside. These SPA's are predominantly White with many more households headed by married couples than in SPA's with high percentages of births to teens.

SUMMARY

The available data of teenage pregnancy in Cuyahoga County yield the following important points.

- Of the 2,619 births to teens in Cuyahoga County in 1984, 83, or 3 percent, were babies born to teens younger than 14 years old.
- Of the births to teens in 1984, 2,536, or 97 percent, were to teens 15 to 19 years old.
- Cleveland teens account for 1,985 births, or 76 percent, of all teen births in Cuyahoga County.
- Births to unmarried teens — both Black and White — have steadily increased over the past 20 years. Before 1970, 80 percent of teens married before they had children. By 1984, 77.8 percent of all babies born to teens were out of wedlock. Of the babies born to Black teens that year, 68 percent were out of wedlock.
- Cuyahoga County accounts for 20 percent of Ohio early pregnancy terminations to girls 14-19 years old, i.e., one out of three for the 12-14 year old category and one out of five for the 15-19 category across the state.
- Teens living in the suburbs, whether White or Black, have significantly fewer births than teen living in the city: 1.1 percent compared to 5.1 percent.
- The importance of the role of poverty and lack of opportunity suggested by these data are derived from a comparision of Cleveland neighborhoods. Areas with higher median incomes have lower teen birth rates whether predominantly White or Black.
- The public assistance cost in Cuyahoga Count of teen pregnancy in 1984 was estimated at $15 million, excluding child care, medical care and other support services.

Source: Tables 6-9. An Overview on Teenage Pregnancy: A Local and Ohio Perspective. Federation for Community Planning, Cleveland, Ohio 1987.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO HELP TEEN PARENTS

The problem of teenage pregnancy has reached crisis proportions. What are we doing in our community to help and support our youth and give stability to their lives? We will describe five programs currently being run in Cleveland. The administrators and volunteers are working vigorously to reduce the number of

teen pregnancies.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY TEEN PREGNANCY PREVENTION PROJECT
Debra Lewis-Curlee, Director

The Cuyahoga County Teen Pregnancy Prevention Project is being conducted under the auspices of the Board of County Commissioners and the Federation for Community Planning. It is designed to be a broad-based effort to plan and implement activities which will reduce teen pregnancies. Its method of action is through a major leadership committee and a complementary planning and coordinating council. The goals of the project are:

1. To support young men and women in establishing goals and making responsible decisions related to their future.
2. To support parents in their efforts to strengthen families, to communicate with their children, and to provide the guidance and caring needed by adolescents in their development.
3. To give teens the knowledge and ability to prevent pregnancy and early parenting through increased sexual responsibility based on their own personal and family values.
4. To increase positive options, especially for disadvantaged and minority youth needing opportunities for success and self-sufficiency.
5. To prevent repeated pregnancies by teen parents.

In achieving these goals, the project will effect a decrease in teen pregnancies through the development of a new "say no" culture among teens. Many segments of community leadership are already involved in the project which was launched three years ago. The Leadership Policy Committee is a partnership of established community leaders who are able to use their influence in giving visibility to the project and thus gain support and financial backing.

The Project Coordinating Council chaired by Marjorie Hall-Ellis is responsible for developing and implementing the specific programs which will meet the goals set by the Leadership Policy Committee. Valuable input on the design of each program will be made available to the council through two review groups: one made up of young people and the other of parents.

The Adolescent Consortium representing 80 provider agencies to youth in the area, serves as a consultant and resource to the Project Coordinating Council. The Consortium's referral network is invaluable to the work of the Project.

The project's Media Committee is charged with developing a media campaign as well as with providing technical assistance to the Coordinating Council and those responsible for planning individual programs. The members of the Media Committee include advertising and public relations professionals and representatives from both the electronic and written media. This Committee is chaired by Rena Blumberg and coordinated by Robert Dean-El, Director of Community Relations for the Cuyahoga County Department of Human Services and

Fred Markowitz, the Federation's Director of Public Information. Staffing is provided on an in-kind basis from the Federation's public information division and the County Department of Human Services.

CLERGY IN PARTNERSHIP
Rev. Ralph Hughley, Triedstone Baptist Church, Committee Chair

To the extent that the complex issue of teen pregnancy has both social and moral dimensions, the church, as agent of social change and a proponent of value-based behavior, has a unique and critical role to play in addressing the problem.

The Clergy in Partnership Project is a mechanism for engaging the church through a coalition of prominent clerical leaders of all denominations and religious persuasions in the Cleveland community. It is similar in design and function to the Ministers In Partnership Program in Washington, D.C. The Clergy in Partnership will propose, design and implement various activities of which training in the Kennedy Foundation's Community of Caring curriculum will be one of the first. It will be guided by the supervisory and organizational strengths of the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland, which has been awarded a grant of $23,500 to begin its efforts.

Goals identified for the Clergy in Partnership are:

- To provide a mechanism whereby clergy — particularly inner-city clergy — can engage in a church-based, coordinated effort to combat adolescent pregnancy.
- To enhance parent/child communication regarding human sexuality and sexual responsibility among inner-city families.

SOURCE: Federation for Community Planning; Cuyahoga County Teen Pregnancy Prevention Project (verbatim).

TEEN FATHER PROGRAM: A FAMILY SERVICE
Charles A. Ballard, Executive Director

In 1976, Charles Augustus Ballard, conducted a research project which included several hundred fathers, ages 14-50. The results indicated that fathers of all ages are at minimum to maximum risk and need comprehensive services to meet their needs. The study indicated, however, that the young fathers were at greater risk because of lack of basic education, marketable employment skills, appropriate father or older male relationship.

Mr. Ballard stated that, "hospitals, welfare departments and social service agencies have long recognized the need to help adolescent mothers and their children. The other part of the family, the young father, has been virtually ignored. Few services have been developed for them and little attention has been given to their possible contribution to the young mothers and their children. Specialized services to young fathers would not only increase life chances for the young mothers and infants, but would also greatly enhance his opportunity for becoming an asset to his society."

The primary philosophy of The Teen Father Program is:

That the young father has tremendous unmet needs and that in order to effectively treat and decrease the problem of adolescent pregnancy, parenthood and related adolescent problems, comprehensive enabling services must be available and directed to the needs of the young father and his male peers and siblings. These services should include:

Psycho-social counseling, fathering education, positive self-esteem development, family therapy, outreach, job seeking skills development, housing, extended family development, life planning and referral for medical, employment, housing and related services.

The program operated under the Cleveland Neighborhood Health Services, Inc., for four years (1978-1982) and was incorporated in April 1982, and in June 1982 received its 501(c)(3) non-profit status. The new agency started the separate service October 3, 1983.

The agency's most effective method of recruitment is outreach conducted by the agency's counselors. More than 70 percent of the young fathers are recruited through home visits, contacts at recreational centers, schools, community health clinics, churches, basketball courts, and other youth related activity places. Other referral sources include, hospitals, county welfare, juvenile court, social service agencies, girlfriends, parents, and self referrals or walk-ins.

With the present staff, The Teen Father Program will make contact and provide some services to at least 400 adolescent fathers during a given year. Approximately half will be registered for continuing services and fathering education.

Young fathers registered in The Teen Father Program spend an average of five hours of quality time holding, talking to and feeding the infant each week. This type of involvement has decreased child abuse and neglect on the part of the young mother, who now has more time to spend taking care of her own personal needs.

Young fathers in the program report a decrease in sexual activity and an increase in use of contraceptive methods. The agency reports only ten repeat pregnancies per 100 fathers. Fewer pregnancies mean more young girls and boys complete their high school education. This, in turn, leads to opportunities to acquire jobs and provide financial support for the infant.

THE GRANDPARENT CONFLICT MANAGEMENT PROJECT

In 1985 the Teen Father Program proposed the Grandparent Conflict Management Project to meet the need for outreach, counseling, group and referral services for grandparents of children born to adolescent parents. By September 1987 the program had registered and provided services for 57 grandfathers and 76 grandmothers.

The grandparent program has a male-female team that makes twenty home visits a week. These meetings, conducted Monday through Thursday, decrease conflict and increase family support as a deterrent to second pregnancies.

The Teen Father Program has received a grant from the George A. Gund Foundation to continue supplying services to grandparents for another year. The Foundation has also included funds for an independent investigation to evaluate the project.

THE NEW ENTREPRENEURSHIP & EMPLOYMENT TRAINING PROJECT

The New Entrepreneurship & Employment Training Project is designed to address the problems of unemployment and underemployment of the young Black father.

More than 70 percent of young fathers registered in the Teen Father Programs in 1985 were out of work. Their attitudes ranged from powerlessness to alienation and failure. The lack of ability to secure and maintain employment and support their family is life-threatening to a large number of young Black fathers and often leads to crime, chemical abuse, suicide, school drop-out, child abuse and other related problems. The New Entrepreneurship & Employment Training Project is working to reverse this negative trend.

The project was launched in September 1987. Classes on finding a job, improving job-related skills, etc., have been conducted in homes, libraries, restaurants and on the Teen Father Program premises. Although there were many distractions there is evidence that much of the information was retained. Project mentors are from the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

The GRADS PROGRAM
John Hairston, Community Relations Director

Several schools in Cleveland are enthusiastically participating in the GRADS Program which focuses on parenting and students. GRADS is an acronym for Graduation, Reality and Dual Role Skills. This vocational program provides education and services to parents and pregnant teens. Males are also a part of the GRADS Program. Credit is prorated. It is an in-school vocational, home economics, secondary program for pregnant students and/or young parents in grades 9-12 in comprehensive high schools and vocational schools. Other services include child care and building support through networking.

GRADS was established in 1980. Its success is reflected in the fact that students stay in school. Participating sites include:

- East Tech
- Glenville
- West Tech
- Polaris
- Parma
- Cleveland Heights (includes students from Shaker Heights and Warrensville)
- Bedford
- East Cleveland

The goals for the GRADS Program are:

- to increase the likelihood that participants will remain in school during their pregnancy and graduation;
- to assist participants in carrying out good health care practices for themselves and their children in both prenatal and postnatal stages;
- to provide knowledge and skills related to child development and positive parenting practices; and,
- to provide an orientation to the job market in the local community.

Two structures are offered to the GRADS program based upon logistics, local student population, and local services.

Structure A — a GRADS teacher-coordinator teaches GRADS classes at one or two high schools. This structure is most suitable to large urban areas with concentrated populations. If the number of eligible students is great enough, one teacher might have a full unit program in one high school. If logistics allow, two to three high schools may be served by one teacher in a district. Students meet one period daily and receive school credit.

Structure B — a GRADS teacher-coordinator teaches GRADS classes at a JVS/career center site as well as at local feeder schools. This structure is most suitable where one school may not have an adequate number of eligible students to require a full unit of GRADS. Students meet a minimum of two periods weekly, usually one to two days per week and may receive partial school credit.

An important feature of the GRADS program is that time is provided for the teacher-coordinator to have a considerable amount of contact with students outside the classroom.

CLEVELAND YWCA
PEER APPROACH: COUNSELING BY TEENS (PACT)
AND PROJECT REDIRECTION
Carol B. Bailey, Executive Director

PACT is the Cleveland YMCA's teenage sexuality education and pregnancy prevention program which I originated in 1977.

The goal of PACT is to empower teens, both male and female, to make informed decisions about their own sexuality, thereby reducing the incidence of unwanted teenage pregnancy. Specific educational activities are designed to:

- provide accurate and factual information on human sexuality;
- increase teenager's awareness of the consequences of their actions and decisions;
- provide a foundation for parents to better handle sex education within the family; and,
- increase teenager and adult understanding of sexual issues through more effective communication.

Funding comes from a variety of sources including Cleveland Public Schools, East Cleveland Schools, Gund Foundation (for community based work), West Side Adolescent Network through the Cleveland Foundation and the West Side Ecumenical Ministry.

Teens involved in PACT receive 22 hours of training as Peer Counselors to work within their schools and/or community centers. The program functions at schools, libraries and clubs throughout greater Cleveland. Over 16,000 teens were contacted in 1987.

The sessions in the school are carried out in health classes, home economics classes, OWE classes, bilingual and Latin culture classes and bilingual health and English classes. Additional funding is already in place for 1989.

PROJECT REDIRECTION

The second successful program of the YWCA is Project Redirection. This program is designed to assist 35 pregnant and teenage mothers, 19 and under by linking them to an array of services aimed to help them develop personal and economic self-sufficiency as well as parenting and coping skills. Teens must enroll in GED classes or attend high school. They receive $20.00 a month if attendance is met and report cards are reviewed.

Community women are used as role models and work with teens on their Individual Participant Plan (I.P.P.). At present, the program works out of two sites – North Central YWCA located at 1831 Lee Boulevard, East Cleveland, and St. James A.M.E. Church, 8401 Cedar Avenue.

TEEN PREGNANCY PREVENTION PLAN FOR CUYAHOGA COUNTY
Norma Jean Freeman, Health Educator and Coordinator

The Teen Pregnancy Prevention Plan for Cuyahoga County has identified five major program components essential in preventing teen pregnancy and parenting.

1. Basic Education and support service
2. Human growth and development sexuality education services
3. Comprehensive health care for youth
4. Parent education services
5. Community education

The following describes each component's recommendations:

BASIC EDUCATION AND SUPPORT SERVICES

1. Schools with high dropout, low achievement and high pregnancy rates need to identify barriers to education at each grade level (K-12) and develop educational programs to counter specific deficits.
2. The Adopt-A-School Program should be expanded to include all Cleveland Public Schools.

3. School and community programs that successfully addressed the problems of high risk youth need to be identified and replicated throughout the county. Each school system must take responsibility for the task.
4. Youth employment programs must be expanded.
5. JTPA management/funding problems need to be addressed so that full use of available funds can be made.
6. Programs to provide private sector jobs for youth should be continued and expanded.
7. County sponsored small grant programs should be expanded to continue youth support programs.
8. Neighborhood Centers Association (NCA), city recreation departments and other youth services agencies need to develop after school and weekend programs directed to youth in the neighborhoods they serve.
9. Religious, civic and service organizations should develop programs for youth and their families.
10. There should be coordination and expansion of existing tutoring programs.
11. Coalitions based on the West Side Adolescent Service Network (WSASN) model needs to be developed to provide the coordinated support services in other Cleveland neighborhoods.
12. Human service funding agencies should recognize youth programs as high priority for funding.
13. Youth Resource Centers should be expanded to all Cleveland Public junior high schools.

HUMAN GROWTH & DEVELOPMENT SEXUALITY EDUCATION SERVICES

1. Comprehensive K-12 Human Growth & Development Sexuality Education curricula should be developed in public, parochial and independent schools (ALL grades and special education classes in keeping with House Bill 345).
2. Ensure passage of House Bill 345.
3. Churches and community organization should be encouraged to provide human growth and development sexuality education programs for youth and parents.

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE FOR YOUTH

1. Adolescents need to have access to routine and specialized medical services, preventive health education and family planning services.
2. Health care services need to be developed to reach at-risk youth.
3. Family planning services targeted to at-risk teens need to be developed and expanded to unserved neighborhoods.
4. Non-governmental funders should be encouraged to provide financial assistance to family planning agencies.

PARENT EDUCATION SERVICES

Develop and provide accessible neighborhood-based programs to assist parents in improving parenting skills.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

1. CCTPPP should design and implement a broad-based media effort.
2. Local media must assume responsibility for providing messages addressing appropriate sexual behavior for youth and the negative consequences of teen pregnancy.
3. Religious and professional organizations must assume responsibility for educating and training their members to help teens and their families prevent teen pregnancy.

A WIN WIN OUTLOOK

Solving the problem of teen pregnancy begins with communication and networking along all lines — personal religious, political, social.

We have allowed ourselves and our children to be dangerously placed at a disadvantage relative to a secure, healthy and productive Twenty-First Century. Are we not our brother's keeper? Are we not, as adults, the role models that the young emulate? If this is true, then what roles have we played that produce a cast of players who bear children while they are still children? The child-parents are searching for security and a purpose in life. Are we there to provide the solid foundation they need?

A partnership must be formed between parents, children, educators, politicians, funders, religious leaders. This partnership must be devoid of self-interest, and full of respect for human life and the dignity of all human-kind. It must have as a top priority the interest and well-being of all youth, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. We must progress forward as a united front; for if we don't, we shall regress at a down-hill, snowball speed that becomes uncontrollable and has the potential for on-going devastation.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Children's Defense Fund, Ohio 1986 and Ohio Department of Health Statistics, Statistical Analysis Unit, Division of Data Services. The total births in some years is more than the combined White and Black because the category of non-White births was excluded.

[2] Federation for Community Planning, Cleveland, Ohio

[3] Children's Defense Fund, 1986 Ohio Department of Human Services, Statistical Analysis Unit Division of Data Services "*Report of Vital Statistics*" 1984.

[4] Vital Statistics 1984 Annual Report. City of Cleveland, Division of Health Cleveland, Ohio.

Health Care in Decline

By Michael R. Williams, Ph.D. - M.P.H.
Cleveland State University

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the major problems concerning health care for African Americans residing in Cuyahoga County. It is essential that we identify the conditions — both mental and physical — which threaten the well-being of the African American community. Having identified these conditions, we can then develop the necessary strategies to improve health care, particularly preventive health care.

For the purposes of this chapter, I am considering "health" as defined in Websters' Unabridged Dictionary. Webster (1983) defines "health" as: "physical and mental well-being; soundness; freedom from defect, pain or disease; normality of mental and physical functions."

SIZE OF THE CUYAHOGA COUNTY AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

According to the 1980 Census report there are 341,003 African Americans living in Cuyahoga County. The African American male population totals 157,432, and the female population totals 183,571. African Americans comprise 24 percent of the Cuyahoga County's total population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1987).

Most African Americans in Northeastern Ohio reside within the City of Cleveland. African Americans constitute almost 44 percent of the city's total population. United States Department of Commerce reports (1987) highlight the fact that out of 573,822 individuals living in the city of Cleveland, 251,347 are of African American descendent. It is projected that, for the foreseeable future, Cleveland will continue to experience an increase in the number of African Americans residing within its boundaries.

HEALTH ISSUES OF THE YOUNG: INFANCY TO SEVENTEEN

The Bureau of Vital Statistics (1986) reported that there are 21,032 African American children under the age of five and 60,013 African American children between the ages of five and seventeen living in the City of Cleveland. A cursory review of population projection data indicates that we can expect continued, gradual increase in the number of African American children in this age range

well into the next century. By the twenty-first century it is predicted that the young, African American population will peak and stabilize.

What is the health status of the African American community's most precious resource — its children?

From the moment of conception, the African American child is confronted with enormous risks to his or her physical and emotional well-being. The available health and census data clearly indicate that African American children conceived in Cuyahoga County face more threats to their well-being than White children's. In fact, infant mortality is the leading cause of death for African American children.

The African American child has less chance of surviving the first twenty-eight days of life than a child of any other ethnic group living in Cuyahoga County. The African American community's mortality rate of 19.6 per 1,000 exceeds that of many Third World nations. The neonatal death rate of 11.8 per 1,000 is almost double that of the rate for White residents of Cuyahoga County. In 1986, for example, the County experienced 162 infant deaths and 95 neonatal deaths. The vast majority of these victims were non-White. Most non-White victims were African Americans (Department of Health and Human Services, Bureau of Vital Statistics, 1986).

There are many socio-economic and cultural causes which account for these high infant mortality rates. While health professionals have not yet pinpointed the exact cause of African American's abnormally high infant mortality rates, there is little disagreement that the lack of pre- and post-natal health care plays a major role. The lack of financial resources, the lack of proper information regarding the critical importance of prenatal and post natal care and barriers to receiving medical and health care, place many African American infants at risk from the moment of conception.

Surviving the first year of life offers no guarantee that the African American child will survive to old-age. From infancy to the age of eighteen there are many additional socio-economic forces which pose a threat to the child's well-being. The major threat is in an impoverished household and environment.

Poverty is a harsh economic reality for a large number of Cuyahoga County African American children. According to Census Reports (1980) and the Council for Economic Opportunities studies (1986) nearly half of the African American children in Cuyahoga County live in poverty. This figure is consistent with similar data for other urban centers.

The psychological and physical toll that living in poverty exacts from children is enormous. As a result of living in or near poverty, African American children are routinely exposed to health-threatening conditions. For example, due to the lack of financial resources, a large number of African Americans find themselves living in the county's oldest housing stock. The majority of these old houses still have lead-based paint as an interior wall covering. Children living in these houses are at an increased risk of contracting lead poisoning as a result of consuming flaking paint or inhaling airborne lead particles. The exposure to lead in this

fashion often leads to differing degrees of brain damage and other physical abnormalities.

Living in or near poverty has other adverse effects upon young African American children. Impoverished young African American children often find themselves in environments that threaten their well-being. For instance, a much larger proportion of African American children between the ages of infancy and eighteen live in public housing. Recent reports and *Cleveland Plain Dealer* articles have graphically described the rapidly declining conditions under which most Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA)residents must live. Children, as well as adults, are exposed to unsanitary conditions, high crime rates and heavy drug and alcohol usage in CMHA facilities.

The plight of African American children is even more disturbing when one takes into account that – next to infant mortality – the greatest threats the well-being of African American children are homicide and accident.

A third health issue that must be confronted by the African American community is the issue of teenage pregnancy. In 1986, there were 1,211 babies born to mothers between the ages of twelve and nineteen. There were seventy-six babies born to African American girls under age fifteen. There were 1,135 births to African American females between the ages of fifteen and nineteen (Bureau of Vital Statistics, 1986). These young mothers are at risk from complications surrounding premature birth which can lead to death.

Infants born to teen mothers experience increased risk of suffering from a variety of health-related afflictions. Infants of teenagers are more likely t prematurely born. They experience an increased risk of having low birth weight. The chances of the child experiencing some form of birth defect increase as the age of the mother decreases below age eighteen. It is the opinion of health experts that while genetics play a major role in a child's chances of survival, it is the physical immaturity of the teen mother that contributes to increased risks to well-being experienced by the African American child.

Health experts and scholars often question the ability of a teen mother to provide an infant with a psychologically stable environment. Most health literature confirms that it is difficult for a teen mother to provide her offspring with a stable environment because she has yet to achieve one herself. As the age of the teen mother decreases, the less likely it is that she is able to provide stability for her child.

Young mothers can provide such an environment when they have the support of their families and significant others. In most cases, the African American extended family provides the support needed. When support is not provided, the outcome can be tragic for both the young mother and the infant.

The issue of African American pregnancy is a concern for another reason. The vast majority of teens who give birth are not in a financial position to support their new offspring. Unless financial support is provided by the family or friends, the new teen mother must turn to the public for assistance.

Depending upon public assistance as the main source of financial support, the

teen mother must raise her child in poverty. Currently the state of Ohio Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) grants for a family of three is 61 percent below the nation's poverty line (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, March 1989). This means that the majority of teen mothers and their infants are forced to live in conditions where they experience increased risks to their health and well-being. The threats to their well-being included increased likelihood of being victims of accidents and crime. AFDC regulations require also that they live alone.

Reliance upon AFDC has an additional negative consequence often not taken into consideration by most individuals. AFDC provides health coverage for mothers and infants via the Medicaid program. Due to a variety of program restrictions and inadequate reimbursement payments, many health care providers refuse to provide care to Medicaid enrollees. This means that most Medicaid participants are forced to seek care at public clinics and hospitals.

Health and medical care provided at the county's public hospital and clinics are often viewed as second rate at best. The quality of care is negatively effected by budget constraints, increasing service demands and the lack of available staff to provide services. The impoverished teen mother and her infants are the ones in most need of skilled health care, yet they often find that services are not available, or that they are very difficult to obtain.

This is particularly true in regard to the availability of preventive health care. It is virtually impossible to find quality preventive health care because it is not the main priority of our health care system. This system is an "illness system", designed to treat people rather than keeping people well.

The greater Cleveland African American must continue to work with local politicians, city and county administrators and the medical community if we are to reduce the health risks to our young children. For example, I believe that we could lessen the number of accidental deaths and injuries occurring to inner-city children by strict enforcement of the housing codes. This would force home and apartment owners to bring their properties up to code. In this process, the city and county would provide a safer environment for children to live.

A similar effort must be made with the medical community if the African American community is to be successful in reducing the infant mortality rate. We must identify, develop and implement strategies to overcome barriers to providing health care to expectant African American mothers. We must work with the medical community to determine how we can make medical and health services more affordable and accessible. Additionally, we need to develop approaches that will impress upon the mother to be the critical importance of prenatal health care.

A large number of children living in public housing would benefit tremendously if political pressure could be brought to bear upon the Federal Government and local administrators to improve public housing conditions. The African American community must take an active role in assisting and pressuring CMHA officials to action that will result in both short and long-term improvements. Efforts should be centered around securing financial help to provide for maintenance

and upkeep. Once the money is secured, the African American community must act as a watchdog to make sure that the resources are appropriately spent.

The African American community must work more closely with local politicians to remove undesirable persons from public housing facilities. A concerted and sustained effort to remove drug dealers would result in a number of positive benefits to the adults and children who live in public housing.

THE TROUBLED YEARS: EIGHTEEN TO SIXTY-FOUR

According to the 1980 Census report there were 203,648 African Americans between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four living in Cuyahoga County. More than 80 percent of this number resided in the city of Cleveland. The number of persons age eighteen and sixty-four living in the city totalled 147,207.

When attempting to evaluate the health status of this age group, it is wise to divide the group into two subgroups. One subgroup is those persons age eighteen to forty-five and the second subgroup includes those forty-six to sixty-four. Each of these subgroups faces unique health risks.

The single most serious threat to the well-being of African Americans between the ages of eighteen and forty-five is homicide; it has become the leading cause of death for African Americans in this age group. The city of Cleveland is one of the top five American cities with the highest homicide rate for African Americans. In 1980, Cleveland's African American homicide rate was 76.8 per 100,000 African Americans (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1986). In 1987, there were 130 African American victims of homicide in Cleveland (Coroner's Statistical Report, 1987).

In 1987, 130 African Americans were homicide victims in Cuyahoga County. More than 80 percent of the homicide victims were African American males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Alcohol or drugs played a major role in the vast majority of these homicide cases (Coroner's Statistical Report, 1987).

The abnormally high Cuyahoga County African American homicide rate is part of a disturbing national trend in which African Americans are becoming homicide victims in increasing numbers. Consider the following.

- In 1983, African Americans accounted for 43 percent of the nation's homicide victims, although they represented only 11.5 percent of the population (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1984 Volume I).
- Between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four, African Americans are 7.8 times more likely to become murder victims than White males of the same group (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1984 Volume I).
- Overall African American males have a one in twenty-one lifetime chance of becoming a homicide victim. The chance for White males is one in 131. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1984 Volume I).
- African American females have the second highest rates of homicide: 12.9 per 100,000 compared with 3.1 among White females, in 1981 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1984 Volume I).

The tragedy of these homicide rates is that most of the deaths are preventable. A national study conducted between 1979 and 1981 (Task Force on Black and Minority Health, 1984) found that 6,487 male African Americans were homicide victims. According to statistical odds "only" 1,019 African American males were expected to be homicide victims during these three years. This means that there were 5,468 "preventable" African American male deaths.

A similar but less noticed pattern is evident when one examine female African American homicide victims. In the same report cited above, it was observed that in the period between 1979 and 1981, it was "expected" that 343 African American females would be homicide victims. The actual homicide figure was 1,488. It is a shocking fact that 1,145 more women were murdered than were "expected" to die at the hands of another. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Volume I 1984).

Experts have often speculated why the African American community members are homicide victims in such abnormally high numbers. Theories vary depending upon one's perspective. Some believe that the African American homicide rate reflects family violence patterns (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Volume V, 1984). Others believe that it is a result of poor self-esteem of the perpetrator.

The other major threats to African American health and well-being are drugs and alcohol. It is impossible to overstate the seriousness of the drug and alcohol problem within the African American community. It has reached epidemic proportions in Cuyahoga County. Few families have escaped from having at least one extended family member who is chemically dependent.

How serious is the problem? Consider this: at the beginning of the 1900s African Americans had the lowest substance abuse rates of any ethnic group in the United States. In the intervening eighty-nine years, African Americans have gone from having the lowest rates to having the highest substance abuse rates (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Volume I 1984).

Alcoholism treatment data indicate that African Americans are more likely to die from alcohol related diseases, such as throat cancer and cirrhosis of the liver. These illnesses become most life threatening between the years of twenty-five and sixty-four. The statistical data also indicates that African Americans are proportionally more likely to be affected by long-term health problems related to the consumption of alcohol (U.S. Health and Human Services, Volume VII, 1984).

Alcohol abuse places a heavy emotional and monetary strain upon the afflicted individual and his or her family. Many times both the alcohol abuser and the family are destroyed. The destructive process may take years and over time, family members are subjected to severe economic and social hardships.

The recent increased concern over chemical addiction has largely been the result of the spread of the AIDS virus. Unlike many cities, Cleveland has a small number of people who have either ARC or AIDS. In 1988, the Cleveland Department of Public Health was able to identify ninety-one people who died of AIDS (City of Cleveland HIV Disease Statistical Report, January, 1989). It is

expected that this number will increase each year for the foreseeable future.

The Cuyahoga County African American community has a vested interest in finding a solution to the AIDS crisis as African Americans are disproportionately effected by the disease. Of the 162 newly reported cases of AIDS, in the past year, seventy-eight involved African Americans: seventy-one were males and seven were females (City of Cleveland HIV Disease Statistical Report, January 1988).

The report detailed the most common modes of transmission of the AIDS virus. For African American males the transmission modes were as follows:

Male Mode of Transmission	Number	Percent
1. Gay	28	39.44
2. Intravenous Drug Abuser	11	15.49
3. Gay, IV Drug Abuser	4	5.63
4. Heterosexual	3	4.23
5. Transfusion	2	2.82
6. Bisexual	18	25.35
7. Bisexual, IV Drug Abuser	3	4.23
8. Parent has AIDS risk/HIV+	1	1.41
TOTALS	**71**	**100**

Female Mode of Transmission	Number	Percent
1. IV Drug Abuser	4	57.14
2. Heterosexual	2	28.57
3. Parent Has AIDS/HIV+	1	14.29
TOTALS	**3**	**100**

If these statistics are accurate, then one can readily see why the African American community must be concerned with the issue of chemical dependency and substance abuse. As the gay community begins to educate itself regarding the relationship between safe sexual practices and the transmission of AIDS it is expected that number of gays contacting AIDS will decrease. This will leave, for the most part, IV drug abusers as the main transmission mode of AIDS within the African American community.

It is imperative that the African American community begins to take steps to address the problem AIDS while it is relatively small problem in Cuyahoga County. AIDS puts the community at risk in the present as well as in the future. It is a chilling fact that the two AIDS infected infants born in the county were

African Americans. It is clear that African Americans can no longer afford to view AIDS as a "White gay male" disease if we are to stave off the potential threat to our community.

In summary, the African American community in Cuyahoga County must address the issues of AIDS, homicide, and chemical dependency. In developing strategies to combat these issues we must keep in mind that these are symptoms of a deeper problem within the African American community. In this author's view, the threats of increasing homicide and chemical dependency rates have their origins in the persistently high unemployment rates of African Americans.

For the past forty or fifty years, the African American community has had rates of unemployment that have been, on average, double that of White Americans.

Since 1948, the African American community has had to survive with unemployment rates that were higher than those experienced nationally during the depression of 1929-1940. The 1988 rate of African American unemployment was twice that of nation as a whole (U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, 1988).

As a result, a significant number of African American — particularly males — live in despair and frustration. Some of these individuals have turned to drugs and alcohol as a means of escaping and dealing with their plight. Some have turned to selling drugs as a means of supporting themselves. In doing so, many of these males and females have placed themselves in a situation where their well-being is jeopardized. They are also in the position of jeopardizing the well-being of the entire African American community.

The African American community must continue to battle both internally and externally against conditions that foster homicide and chemical abuse. On the external front we must begin to make a sustained effort to force local boards of education — particularly Cleveland's Board of Education — to provide a high-quality educational experience for our students. We should work cooperatively — when possible — with the school system to keep our children enrolled in the school system. Hopefully, this will result in our children being taught the necessary skills to obtain gainful employment upon graduation or to attend college or university.

Again on the external front, we must continue to pressure local and county employers to hire those African Americans who meet their hiring standards. In the fight against chemical dependency there is no substitute for gainful employment. This is particularly true in this society where one is often judged by one's employment status.

It is imperative that the African American community takes a strong stand against the use of drugs. The stand against drugs must include total intolerance of those who sell or use drugs. African American children must be indoctrinated with an aversion to drug selling and drug use. We must help our children, as well as adults, to learn how to handle life's frustrations and setbacks without resorting to drugs.

It is my belief that in pursuing the actions suggested here, we can take a positive step toward reducing homicide, chemical dependency and AIDS within our

community. The author recognizes that there is no simple solution to issues addressed in this section. What is important is that we begin to act as a community to define the conditions of African Americans in Cleveland and implement actions to address our problems.

THE TWILIGHT YEARS: SIXTY-FIVE AND OLDER

In recent years the African American community has experienced a gradual, but steady, increase in the number of individuals living past the age of sixty-five. In the United States in 1986, of the 29 million individuals age sixty-five or older, 2,400,000 were African Americans. This figure represented 8 percent of the total African American population (U.S. Census Report, 1986).

The rise in the number of elderly African Americans is expected to continue. This is due to the increased life expectancy for African Americans. According to the 1980 Census reports, the average African American female has a life expectance of 73.1 years and the male has a life expectancy of 64.3 years. While these figures are substantially lower than that of Whites, it still represents an improvement over previous life expectancy estimates (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Volume II, 1984).

It is projected that by 2030, 15.3 percent of the African American community will be age sixty-five or older. This translates into one out of every seven African Americans, being in the sixty-five plus age category. By 2050, it has been estimated that there will be over 9,200,000 elderly African Americans nationwide (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Middle Series Projections, 1980).

Cuyahoga County is participating in the "greying" of the African American community. According to Census reports (1980), there are slightly more than 27,217 African Americans age sixty-five or older living in the county. The African American elderly population comprises 8.0 percent of the total African American county population. It is expected that this percentage will gradually increase well into the next century.

The vast majority of the county's elderly individuals resided in the City of Cleveland. According to 1986 Bureau of Vital Statistics Annual Report, there were 23,095 African Americans over age sixty-five residing in Cleveland. Of the county's African American aged population, 84 percent live in the city of Cleveland. The bulk of the remaining elderly individuals reside in the following four county areas: 1) 1,684 in East Cleveland; 2) 501 in Shaker Heights; 3) 468 in Cleveland Heights; and, 4) 378 in Warrensville Heights (Weld, 1985).

National mortality records indicate that the three leading causes of death for the nation's elderly are as follows: 1) Cardiovascular diseases; 2) Cerebrovascular diseases; and 3) Cancer. African Americans are much more likely to be victims of these causes of death at an early age than are their White counterparts (Select Committee on Aging, 1986). County vital statistics confirm that African Americans die at a greater rate from these diseases than do their White counterparts (Bureau of Vital Statistics, 1986). Other major causes of death include cirrhosis

of the liver, accidents, accidental falls, and homicide.

County morbidity records indicate that the African American elderly has to struggle daily with a number of health threatening conditions. Diabetes is more likely to impair the African American elderly than White elderly. The African American elderly is more likely to suffer from hypertension than is the White elderly. African American elderly is also more apt to experience impairment as a result of reduced or blurred vision, hearing loss, and heart conditions (U.S. Select Committee on Aging, March 1986).

Any attempt to improve the health status of the aged African American must begin by enhancing their income status. The vast majority of the County's African American population is waged in a economic struggle to survive. The rate of poverty for the County's aged African American population is 30.4 percent. This compares with the national White elderly poverty rate of 12 percent and the national African American elderly poverty rate of 33 percent (Council for Economic Opportunities, 1986; Williams, 1987).

It is critical to address the issue of income for this particular group because of the implications for their well-being. One such implication is access to health and medical care. Many of the aged do not seek medical treatment simply because they cannot afford to pay for needed services. Often they postpone treatment until the last possible moment. Various studies document the fact that the African American elderly visit the doctor on a less than expected basis given the illnesses for which they are afflicted (Harel, McKinney and Williams, 1989; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Volume II, 1984). This often translates into the African American aged seeking care when the illness is at its most acute stages making full recovery less probable.

A second negative consequence of the high African American elderly rate of poverty is that many of them have a higher probability of working past their productive years than their White counterparts. It is not that retirement age African Americans are working because they enjoy their labor, but rather it is a case of having to continue to work to survive. This is particularly true of the female elderly African American. Many of these individuals are working with medical conditions that are life threatening at worse or which increase their impairment levels at best.

A third consequence of living in or near poverty, is that the African American elderly is often in a position where she or he can not secure the necessary medical and support assistance to maintain themselves in their homes. Personal observation of a number of homebound elderly residing in the Fairfax area of Cleveland convinced the author that there is a real need for services to be directed to this need.

A fourth consequence of living an impoverished old-age is that many African Americans are unable to take advantage of alternative nursing home placements when remaining at home is not recommended. Many quality nursing facilities are far beyond the economic reach of most of the county's African American elderly. Those nursing facilities that are affordable are, for the most part, ill-equipped

220

to provide quality care. Most appear to be custodial facilities.

The lack of resources to pay for nursing care or skilled home care forces many of the county's elderly to rely upon family members or friends. In many situations the person must rely upon his or her lessening ability to care for themselves. While family, friends and the person may be well meaning, they generally lack the expertise necessary to help the person. In some instances, these well meaning attempts at providing care has aggravated the situation or lead to deaths.

In the absence of improving the economic lot of the African American aged, it becomes mandatory that steps are taken to make medical and health services much more accessible to this invaluable segment of the community. We cannot allow our aged to continue to suffer with health afflictions that could be prevented or controlled if services were more available and affordable.

Many strategies have been developed to make services more accessible to the elderly. One that holds bright promise is the strategy devised by the Project for Golden-Age Outreach, commonly referred to as Project GOH. This program employs senior volunteers who provide services to the elderly of the Fairfax area. Each senior is assigned a number of streets in the service area. Often the assigned senior is a resident of the area.

It is the responsibility of the "street health worker" to contact every elderly resident in their assigned areas to tell about the services and to establish a relationship with the resident. The worker is also trained to spot problems and make referrals to appropriate sources. They also make judgments about the seriousness of the issues confronting their residents.

The importance of such a program should be readily apparent. The assigning of street health workers allows all the elderly to be contacted on a frequent basis. Additionally, the elderly has someone whom they can trust, identify with, with whom they can share their concerns. This makes getting support services into the home somewhat easier, as many African American elderly persons are leery about letting strangers into their homes to discuss their personal situations.

Project GOH represents just one creative program for getting services to the African American elderly population. The African American community must work with other service providers to develop equally creative ways of providing care for our senior population. Special attention should be given to developing means to providers services for the county's elderly African American male population. This group is often overlooked or thought to be impossible to reach through service providers. We must find viable ways to target services to this population group.

It is my belief that the African American community owes its elderly members a special debt of gratitude. Many of these individuals made many personal and professional sacrifices in order to ensure the survival of the present day African American community. Too often we are quick to forget our obligation to these individuals. It is the responsibility of younger African Americans to assist our elderly in living their final years with a sense of pride and dignity. To this end, we continue to inform, educate, and pressure service providers of the needs of

our aged population. These individuals are entitled to live out their remaining years in dignity and self-respect in recognition for all sacrifices they have made to pave the way for the rest of the African American community.

REFERENCES

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Special Studies, *Demographic and Socioeconomic Aspects of Aging in the United States.* Washington, D.C., 1984.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Summary Characteristics of the Black Population for States and Selected Counties and Places: 1980,* Washington, D.C. 1987.

The Department of Health and Human Services, Cleveland, Ohio 1986. *Bureau of Vital Statistics, Vital Statistics Annual Report: 1986*

City of Cleveland, HIV Disease: Statistical Report, Department of Health and Human Services, January, 1989.

Congressional Black Caucus, *Select Committee on Aging: "Brain Trust On Aging,"* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986.

County of Cuyahoga, State of Ohio, *Coroner's Statistical Report,* Cleveland, Ohio 1987.

Harel, Zev, McKinney, Edward, Williams, Michael; *Understanding and Serving the Needs of the Black Aged:* National Caucus on Aging Washington, D.C. in press, 1989.

National Caucus and Center On Black Aged, Inc., The Status of the Black Elderly in the United States, Select Committee on Aging House of Representatives, U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C. 1987.

U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on Aging, Health Care Problems of the Black Aged. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1986.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health,* Volumes I, II, V, VI, VII, Washington, D.C. 1986.

Weld, Edric, *Demographic Profiles of the Cleveland Area,* Report XX Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio, 1985.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE STATE

223

The Deterioration of Due Process

By Attorneys James R. Willis and Willa M. Hemmons

INTRODUCTION

The American criminal justice system is unique, based as it is upon a Due Process Model rather than upon Crime Control. The Due Process Model ostensibly starts from the premise that the one being brought to justice is presumed innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. Furthermore, the Due Process Model requires that law enforcement agents obey the law (basically as derived from the U.S. Constitution) in the investigation and prosecution of crime. The Crime Control Model, on the other hand, countenances the prosecution of crime "by any means necessary". In Cleveland, as elsewhere, this usually means by any means which can be conceived, contrived and controlled in the unfettered discretion of law enforcement officers.

Thus, the uniqueness of the American criminal justice system has been that it protected the larger individual rights, and allowed the "criminal" to go free when the "constable blundered". The discussion below describes the gradual dissipation of that view from the time of its heyday during Warren's tenure as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court to the present time when, under the direction of Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, it is slated for extinction.

The cases most often cited as being the landmark decisions which undergirded the Constitutional Revolution include opinions such as those found in *Mapp v. Ohio*, 367 U.S. 655 (1961) – Protection from Unreasonable Search and Seizure; *Gideon v. Wainwright*, 372 U.S. 335 (1963) – Requirement of Attorney Representation for Indigents; *Griffin v. California*, 380 U.S. 690 (1965) – Prevention of Comments by Prosecutor on Defendant's Failure to Testify; and, *In Re Winship*, 397 U.S. 358 (1970) – Due Process Mandated for Juveniles.

Our position as criminal defense lawyers is that the eradication of the Due Process Model is significantly more ominous for African Americans than for Whites. There are two major reasons for this conclusion. The first is that, for whatever sociological, political and/or economic reasons, African Americans disproportionately find themselves before the Cuyahoga County Criminal Justice bar as defendants. The second is because the adoption of the Crime Control Model necessarily means that law enforcement officials are less accountable and responsible to the community. Further, since Cleveland is at this point slightly more than one-half African American; and, Cuyahoga County is essentially one-quarter African American, that means that they will have correspondingly less to say about how their criminal justice system is run. The Crime Control Model, in other words, fosters the type of unilateral, non-democratic autocracy found

in the more highly publicized totalitarian countries, ie. Iran, South Africa, etc. The reason we say "more highly publicized" is that, contrary to public opinion in this nation, the United States is second only to South Africa in the harshness and length of its sentencing practices in terms of incarceration and commitment to penal facilities.

We are especially concerned about the diminution of the rights embodied in the composition of the Supreme Court. We are not particularly hopeful about what Supreme Court Justices O'Connor, White, Scalia, Kennedy and even Stevens as well as the Chief Justice plan with regard to those rights. Hence, it is our suggestion that the African American community cultivate and monitor their local as well as national legislative and executive branches of government extremely closely. In addition, the state and local criminal justice systems for Ohio, Cuyahoga County and Cleveland as well as the suburban Municipal Courts should be under constant scrutiny and review in terms of the perpetration of excessive abuses in their treatment of African Americans.

I. The Fourth Amendment

Mapp v. Ohio, 367 U.S. 643 (1961) was the landmark case in which the police were restricted from using unreasonable search and seizure in order to get an arrest or obtain evidence. This meant that, unless they had on the spot, "probable cause" to do so, they had to go "downtown" to get a warrant from a "neutral, detached magistrate". In this Cleveland case, police arrogantly broke down the door of the house of Ms. Dollree Mapp who lived on 147th off Kinsman. The police entered and high-handedly confiscated evidence. *Mapp* was the first case to be applied to the states in which the confiscated evidence was ordered suppressed.

The current feeling of the U.S. Supreme Court, retreating from this view, became most obvious in the case *United States v. Leon*, 468 U.S. 897 (1984). In the face of a patently defective warrant, the Court decided that as long as the officers acted in "good faith" their actions were Constitutional. The essentially unreviewable standard of "good faith", in our interpretation, means that the sky is the limit as far as police conduct is concerned in the area of search and seizure.

II. The Fifth Amendment

The most heralded case which advanced the privilege against self incrimination was *Miranda v. Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436 (1966). That case contains the famous *Miranda* warnings which were designed to limit police questioning of suspects and defendants unless they were advised of their right to representation. Here again, this Fifth Amendment right was seriously undercut with the U.S. Supreme Court opinion, *Moran v. Burbine*, 175 U.S. 412 (1986). In *Moran*, according to the dissent written by Justice Stevens:

> **The Court concludes that the police may deceive an attorney by giving her false information about whether her client will be questioned, and that the police may deceive a suspect by failing to inform**

him of his attorney's communications and efforts to represent him.

Stevens goes on to explain further that:

> **The Court's balancing approach is profoundly misguided. The cost of suppressing evidence of guilt will always make the value of a procedural safeguard appear "minimal," "marginal," or "incremental." Indeed, the value of any trial at all seems like a "procedural technicality" when balanced against the interest in administering prompt justice to a murderer or a rapist caught red-handed.**
>
> **This case turns on a proper appraisal of the role of the lawyer in our society. If a lawyer is seen as a nettlesome obstacle to the pursuit of wrongdoers—as in an inquisitorial society—then the Court's decision today makes a good deal of sense. If a lawyer is seen as an aid to the understanding and protection of constitutional rights — as in an accusatorial society — then today's decision makes no sense at all.**

In essence, then, this decision represents a decided turn in U.S. society toward the inquisitorial posture of the totalitarian countries. This is important at the local level because the perspectives of the Supreme Court of the land usually represent the highest standards of behavior expected of law enforcement agents. It is ominous for African Americans because normally when filtered down to the local level, those standards have lost a lot in the translation. It has for most practical purposes, been almost as long a way from the courts of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, to the Supreme Court as it has been from Hinds County, Mississippi (Jackson) to the Supreme Court. We submit that about the same amount of justice can be obtained from Hinds County as from Cuyahoga. In fact, one might be able to obtain a better shake in the former.

III. The Sixth Amendment

The Sixth Amendment right is broad. It requires that fundamental justice pervade the incrimination process as well as specifying those times during the criminal justice process when an individual is entitled to a lawyer (critical stages when the defendant's right to a fair process would be prejudiced unless an attorney were present). Here, too, whereas the U.S. Supreme Court in *Gideon v. Wainwright*, 372 U.S. 335 (1963) set forth the proposition that all persons, regardless of their ability to afford one, were entitled to legal representation, then Justice Rehnquist restricted that right to instances in which the defendant was subjected to actual imprisonment, *Scott v. Illinois*, 440 U.S. 367 (1979). This limits access to legal counsel for many thousands of African Americans, as well as others, who find themselves facing incrimination but because the judge determines that no incarceration will follow, they can be saddled with a criminal conviction on their record without having had the opportunity to consult with

a lawyer.

IV. The Eighth Amendment

The death penalty, which has been wholeheartedly endorsed by thirty-seven states since it was re-approved by the Supreme Court in *Gregg v. Georgia*, 428 U.S. 153 (1976), is a central concern of the Eighth Amendment. A major source of that concern with regard to African-Americans was that it was disproportionately imposed upon them. In 1987, the Supreme Court took the opportunity to dispel any belief that it too might be concerned with that disproportionately. That decision occurred in consideration of the case, *McCleskey v. Kemp*, 107 S.Ct. 1756. There it was decided that even though the death penalty was imposed significantly more often when the victim was White than when he or she was Black (4.3 times more often), there was no discriminatory intent nor violation of the Constitution.

Another Eighth Amendment issue similarly lacks promise for Blacks in the criminal justice system. That issue is embodied in the view announced in *U.S. v. Salerno*, 107 S.Ct. 2095 (1987) which gives the government the right to hold a suspect or defendant charged with a crime on the basis of "preventive detention". This concept flies in the face of the presumption that one is innocent until proven guilty. It can be imposed when the prosecution asserts that if one is let go, regardless of a high degree of certainty that one will appear at all scheduled hearings, bail can be denied, this pronouncement also contradicts the 1951 case of *Stack v. Boyle*, 342 U.S. 1, 5 in which it was decided:

> **Bail set at a figure higher than an amount reasonably calculated [to ensure the defendant's presence at trial] is 'excessive' under the Eighth Amendment.**

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY

Any informed discussion of the criminal justice system in Cuyahoga County requires a basic understanding of the dynamics of that system. Any analysis of the African American situation in a given community is necessarily incomplete, unless reference is made to the impact of the Criminal Justice System. This is true not only for the Greater Cleveland Area, but is also for the entire country based upon the treatise of Alan M. Dershowitz author of *The Best Defense*. He states[1]

> **...The American criminal justice system is corrupt to its core: it depends on a pervasive dishonesty by its participants. It is unfair: it discriminates against the poor, the uneducated, the members of minority groups.**

Despite these characteristics, Dershowitz maintains that the fact that the U.S. has an adversarial system of justice which is enhanced by the fact that each party works diligently at mobilizing the evidence of his or her behalf. Dershowitz also maintains, however, that[2]

In our adversary system of criminal law, the participants — criminal defendant, defense lawyer, prosecutor, police, and judge — seek to maximize their own personal and professional interests.

To Dershowitz, "[T]he corruption lies not so much in the results of the justice system as in its processes." He writes proudly, nevertheless, that the system boasts "better ten guilty go free than even one innocent be wrongly convicted." He feels that defending those who are determined to be guilty and those who are despised " — even freeing some of them — is a small price to pay for our liberties."

The fact that Dershowitz is a lawyer and became a full professor at Harvard Law School when only twenty-eight years of age, also has significance for African-Americans. Of his "mischievous" high school years in which he was considered a "troublemaker," he writes:

...I recall my C's and D's in math and spelling, but even more painful were my F's — and even F minuses — in conduct, deportment, and effort. My parents were called to the principal's office with such regularity that a classmate once asked if my mother worked at the school. I was always bored in class and had an attention span measurable in seconds.

The significance for African Americans lies in the fact that such a problematic beginning did not write him off permanently from participation in the American mainstream. Such a background would be exceedingly ominous for a young African American male in the Greater Cleveland area, today; one which he could *not* easily overcome without intense, directed intervention by the community. (See also Dr. Edward's discussion in the Family Chapter on "Joe Clark — bat" philosophy.) Without such intervention, his participation in the community's criminal justice system as a defendant — or a victim — rather than as a professional, would be a certainty.

Getting back to the specifics of the criminal justice system as it operates in Cuyahoga County, we note first of all that there are basically two types of crimes here, as elsewhere: Misdemeanors and Felonies. Misdemeanors include such offenses as Plain Assault, Petty Theft, Criminal Trespass, Sexual Imposition and Carrying a Concealed Weapon (without the bullets). All of these crimes serve the dual function of being lesser included crimes to their Felony correlates of "Aggravated" or "Felonious" Assault, Grand Theft, Breaking and Entering/Burglary/Aggravated Burglary, Gross Sexual Imposition and Carrying a Concealed Weapon (with the bullets). These are "allied offenses", *State v. McGhee* (1987)[3] which as corollaries may be used in the practice widely known as "plea bargaining" — described more fully below.

Although, ordinarily, Misdemeanors are punishable by no more than six months, one may be committed to a local correction center for up to a year if the sentence is ordered to be served consecutively. There are two such facilities in the Cleveland area: The Cuyahoga County Correction Center (the Jail) and The Cleveland House of Correction (the Workhouse). (The Northeast

Pre-Release Center located at East 30th and Orange Avenue which opened in 1988, houses felony prisoners who spend the last four to six weeks of their sentences there and receive training from Cuyahoga Community College in seeking and holding jobs).

Both the Jail and the Workhouse are overcrowded. For instance, the capacity of the Jail is 770 but during the month of December, 1988, the count averaged almost 1,220 inmates. Exacerbating the problem is the similarly overcrowded condition of many of the suburban jails whose inmates are on the County Jail's waiting list. Furthermore, the Cuyahoga County Court has orders not to send any eligible county prisoners to the Workhouse. This would include those charged with a Felony but who plead to, or are convicted of a Misdemeanor.

Felonies (Non-Capital) are punishable with six months to twenty-five years incarceration. Capital offenses, murder and aggravated murder, carry penalties from fifteen years to life, as well as the death penalty. Under recent changes in Ohio sentencing law, all the serious felonies carry increased penalties committed by prior serious felony offenders. They become aggravated offenses. Ohio, in addition, has incorporated some features of the mandatory penalty trend. This is found in the sentencing for example of individuals who commit a felony (excluding Carrying a Concealed Weapon—CCW) while carrying a gun. The penalty is correspondingly increased by three years. Further, the Ohio legislators have written the law so that the individual subject to it is ineligible for parole with regard to any diminution through the application of "good time" of that three year sentence.

Non-Capital felonies include aggravated arson, aggravated robbery, rape, kidnapping and non-exempt drug offenses as well as those previously mentioned. If death results law during the commission of certain felonies (not including drug offenses), the "felony-murder" rule applies under Ohio as a "specification of a charge of aggravated murder" and the death penalty is one penalty which may be imposed, *Ohio Revised Code* (O.R.C. 2929.04(a)).[4] Following the prescription of the *Gregg v. Georgia* case, the U.S. Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976. Ohio's death penalty has been in effect since 1981 and, from that time through 1988, has been upheld as constitutional in over forty cases reviewed by the Ohio Supreme Court.[5] Ohio's aggravated murder statute requires that a jury deliberates separately with regard to, guilt; and upon a guilty verdict, then sentence. If the jury finds the death penalty to be appropriate, the judge, in Ohio, can still review and modify that determination. In doing so, the judge can make his or her own assessment of the mitigating as well as the aggravating circumstances. This has only happened three times in Ohio, however, since the death penalty was reinstated. Such a possibility becomes even more remote given the current law-and-order mood in the country – a mood which is reflected in Cuyahoga County.

In Cuyahoga County, the law-and-order mood is reflected by the electorate's affinity for the election of former County prosecutors as being most qualified to administer the law from the Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court bench.

Such judges include the Honorable: Judge Michael Corrigan, Judge Donald Nugent, Judge Patricia Gone and retired Judge Robert Feighan. In the November, 1988 election, Assistant Prosecutor Patricia Cleary defeated the then incumbent Judge Carl Character for his seat on the bench. Character's defeat left three African American judges on the Common Pleas Bench: Judge Stephanie Tubbs-Jones, Judge Lillian Green and Judge Leodis Harris of the Juvenile Court Division. Conversely, over one-half of those who come before the Common Pleas Court are African American — this in a country in which African Americans comprise only 23 percent of the population.

There are several ways an individual is accused of a crime against a City (Misdemeanor) or the State of Ohio (Felony) in Cuyahoga County. Approximately one-third of such individuals are arrested by law enforcement officers who either act on personal observation or on the observation of others.

With reference to Misdemeanors, many individuals receive Summons to a Municipal Court to answer allegations. If the alleged offense is against the City of Cleveland, the Defendant goes to one of several Courtrooms in the Justice Center located at 1200 Ontario Avenue. At the first hearing, the Defendant is informed of the charges against him or her; bond is set; and, indigency is established. If indigency is determined, an attorney must be appointed in any case in which there is a possibility of jail time.[6] Also, the Defendant is requested during the hearing to enter a plea of guilty or not guilty. At this juncture, generally the latter is routinely entered for any other than traffic or relatively minor Misdemeanors. In fact, most Misdemeanors and traffic cases are disposed of at this time. If the Defendant wishes, he or she may also enter a no contest plea in which the judge generally makes a finding of guilty. A no contest plea cannot be used against the Defendant in a civil trial. If a not guilty plea is entered, the case is referred to a trial judge for further proceedings. That trial judge later notifies the parties for a Pre-Trial.

At the Pre-Trial, the case is again reviewed by a prosecutor. The prosecutor and defense counsel then weigh the evidence with regard to its relative salience at trial for each of the respective parties. In other words, the party with the most credible evidence on his or her side has the greatest bargaining power.

This process, mentioned earlier, is known widely as plea bargaining. Plea bargaining is a fact of life in nearly every Courtroom in America — although there have been some attempts to control its use. It serves to move cases more expeditiously as well as to mitigate extenuating circumstances not considered by the legislators when the laws were passed. In addition, where the evidence is unclear, it serves to delineate boundaries where they do not necessarily exist.

The problem for African Americans, of course, is that since they do not have the same amount or quality of investigative, processing or executory resources to mobilize any evidence on their side, they are at a decided disadvantage. Further, educational, as well as economic factors apply here too, insofar as Blacks are generally not as well equipped to orchestrate their defense as the prosecutor is to orchestrate their prosecution.

The American system does not allow victims to hire their own prosecutor as in England where one's vindication may be dependent upon one's wealth and position in society. Ohio does have a Crime Victims Compensation Act (O.R.C. 2743) whereby victims of crime or their survivors can be compensated for physical and property losses up to $50,000. The State also has provision for reasonable compensation (O.R.C. 2317.421) to be awarded as restitution by offenders (O.R.C. 2947).

The same relativity of bargaining power as between the prosecutor and the offender, applies to felonies at the Common Pleas Court (County) level.

For felonies also, a suspect has several ways of entering the system.

A suspected felon can be arrested on the spot based upon probable cause. Probable cause exists when there is reason to believe that 1) a crime has been committed; and, 2) the suspect in question committed said crime.[7] Once arrested, a suspect can be held up to seventy-two hours before being charged. Police officers, detectives and perhaps other special units such as Narcotics, Vice, Homicide, Rape or SIU (the Scientific Investigation Unit) work together during that period to gather any evidence to support the assertion that probable cause exists. At the end of the seventy-two hours, however, the suspect must either be charged or released.

If after being charged, the Defendant cannot make bail and thereby must remain in jail, he or she must be brought to trial within ninety days. This "Speedy Trial" rule does not apply, however, in some cases. It does not apply, for instance, if the Defendant has a "holder" on him or her from another jurisdiction. It does not apply if there has been a "capias" (judicial order for the Defendant's arrest) issued for him or her on another matter within the jurisdiction of Cuyahoga County until the other matter is resolved. Neither does it apply if the Defendant is on probation to the Cuyahoga County Probation Department. The same applies if the Defendant is on parole to Ohio's Adult Parole Authority.

On the other hand, for individuals who make bond and are otherwise on the street, the State has 270 days to bring them to trial.

As with the Misdemeanant, the City can *initiate* the accusatory process (charges) against a felony suspect. This is done with reference to an offense committed within the jurisdiction of Cleveland by sending a Summons to the Defendant and having him or her appear in Courtroom D. Courtroom D is the felon courtroom of the Cleveland Municipal Court. It is located on the third floor of the Justice Center along with "Muny" Courtroom A (Small Claims/Housing); Courtroom B (Traffic); and Courtroom C (Non-Traffic Misdemeanors).

In Courtroom D, the Defendant is informed of the charges against him or her, given a bond, provided with temporary counsel (generally from The Legal Aid Society of Greater Cleveland, although The Hyatt Legal Clinic has been discussed as a possible alternative or supplement) and asked if he or she would like a Preliminary Hearing or wishes to waive it. If Cuyahoga County had a viable diversion program at least for non-violent, first time felony offenders, it would be appropriate to request that during this Hearing, also. Wallace Lindsey, who used

to function out of the Arraignment Room, did administer such a program several years ago but with his conviction which followed of that Ray McCoo's, another Arraignment Room administrator, that program appears to have been substantially discontinued.

The Cuyahoga County Probation Department does have a program, for those who are chemically dependent (one Ohio Appellate Court – for Richland County – recently ruled that alcohol was excluded from Ohio's listing of drug-related offenses eligible for treatment in lieu of conviction pursuant to O.R.C. 2951.041).[8] A Defendant may also be released after assessment by a Probation Officer pursuant to the Ohio Court Supervised Release Program which is administered by the probation Department.

If a Preliminary Hearing is requested, the matter may be continued if the arresting officer(s) or complaining witness is not there. Since all that has to be proven is that the officer or the State had probable cause (see definition above), again, – generally, only one witness is sufficient to uphold the initial probable cause determination. Hence, most Defendants waive the Preliminary Hearing. If they do not, 90 percent of time, the judge will reaffirm it anyway.

Insisting on a Preliminary Hearing is kind of a double-edged, sword in Cuyahoga County. If one has made bond in a municipal court, that bond is not carried over without further Defendant effort to the County. Once he or she loses at the Preliminary Hearing, the Defendant must have someone physically go to the municipal court (i.e., Shaker, Parma, etc.) and hand carry it to the Cuyahoga County Criminal Clerk's office which is also located on the third floor of the Justice Center.

If one "wins" at the Preliminary Hearing, the County Prosecutors who are in Courtroom D will 99 percent of the time exercise their option to take the case to the *Grand Jury*. And, thus the Defendant will be charged nevertheless with the original (or exacerbated) crime.

The Grand Jury is a body of up to approximately twenty-three Cuyahoga County registered voters who sit for a Court term. A term is about three months. There too, the prosecutor presents evidence for probable cause determination. The overwhelming majority of the time the Grand Jury agrees with the prosecutor and issues what is known as an indictment. The prosecutor has a great deal of discretion because of the flexible, far-reaching manner in which most criminal legislation is written in Ohio as in many other parts of the nation. For instance, sometimes it boggles the minds of criminal justice practitioners in Ohio to differentiate between such crimes as aggravated burglary and burglary; rape and sexual battery; and, attempted murder and felonious assault.

Another interesting feature of the Grand Jury is its absolute cloak of secrecy. Most other components of the Criminal Justice System are open to the public. The U.S. Supreme Court in 1980 reaffirmed the right of the press and the public to attend criminal trials pursuant to the Sixth Amendment, *Richmond Newspapers, Inc. v. Virginia*, 448 U.S. 555. A major limitation of this rule, of course, with regard to excessive, carnival-like publicity was formulated in the

case of *Sheppard v. Maxwell*, (1966) 384 U.S. 333 (a Cuyahoga County, Ohio case, the Prosecutor then as now was John T. Corrigan). Other justice-related entities, records and procedures in Ohio which have recently been determined to be open to the public in the context of a judicial proceedings include: Mental Health Records, *Ohio Department of Mental Health v. Millegan* (1988), 39 Ohio App 3d 178; Arrest and Intoxilyzer Records, *State, Ex Rel. Outlet, Inc. v. Lancaster Police Department, et al.*, (1988) 38 Ohio St. 3d 324; Municipal Legislative (City Council) Meetings, *State, Ex Rel. Plain Dealer v. Barnes* (1988), 38 Ohio St. 3d 165; and, Juvenile Transfer Hearings, *State, Ex Rel. Eyffe, v. Pierce* (1988), 40 Ohio St. 3d 8.

The fact that all of these are open only serves to emphasize the secrecy of the Grand Jury. As noted in *State v. Greer* (1981), 66 Ohio St. 2d 139:

> **Grand Jury proceedings are secret, and an accused is not entitled to inspect grand jury transcripts either before or during trial unless the ends of justice required it and there is a showing by the defense that a particularized need for disclosure exists which outweighs the need for secrecy.**

The Ohio Supreme Court in that case goes on to insist, however

> **...the release of any...testimony for use prior to or during trial is within the discretion of the trial court.**

In practical terms, there is thus no right to review of the evidence and events which occurred during the Grand Jury. The Defendant is left to speculate and conjecture as to what happened there. He or she thus misses an opportunity to discover what may have been key items which may have contributed significantly to his or her defense.

The Indictment issued by the Grand Jury is read (unless there is a waiver — which there usually is) at the Arraignment. The same things happen at the County Arraignment as at the previously described initial hearing at the municipal court. For some Defendants, though, Arraignment is the first time they hear the charges against them.

Thus, Defendants may come into the system through arrest, Summons to a municipal court, or Summons to the Arraignment Room (on the twelfth floor the Justice Center).

The Arraignment, then, officially starts formal proceedings with Common Pleas Court (the state trial court which are divided by county and of which there are therefore, 88 in Ohio). It is there that the Defendant gets his or her Common Pleas Court judge (as randomly assigned). County bail is set and a more or less permanent attorney is assigned — if the accused is determined to be indigent and if extenuating circumstances do not occur. An attorney may be removed by his or her own petition or by that of the prosecutor's or the defendant's. On rare occasions, the judge may even exercise such an option.

The next stage consists of one or more County Pre-Trials which occur during the Speedy Trial period — unless waived by the Defendant. Pre-Trial Motions

are made during this time. They may include Motions to Suppress, Dismiss, Discover or to Voir Dire to determine the competency of Eyewitnesses, etc.

The Voir Dire of Eyewitnesses has become somewhat problematic since the U.S. Supreme Court's broader acceptance of unidentified informants, *Illinois v. Gates* (1983), 462 U.S. 213. According to Professor Dershowitz

> **...We live in an age of government by informer. Every law enforcement agency has its stable of informers; every organization of any significance — and many of no significance — has been penetrated. Informing has become, if not an honorable trade, a mass occupation. ...They manufacture crime in order to sell their product. They lie about crime in order to give their employer what they think he wants to hear.[2]**

Besides the infiltrator to the JDL (Jewish Defense League), Sheldon Seigel, Dershowitz's primary example of police use of informants runs amuk in his description of the adventures of Brooklyn narcotic detective, Robert Leuci (better known from the book and movie fame as Prince of the City). The complexities involved in informant use in the local area of Cleveland have been publicized in the personages of Arthur L. Feckner and the late Jackie Presser.

With reference to the latter, the aforementioned Judge Michael Corrigan vindicated five police officers in December of 1988, who were allegedly caught in Feckner's web of histrionics. That case illustrates the point that the seemingly quick and easy crime solving technique of informant use may be anything but quick and easy. The adage, "There is no substitute for good police work" thus held true, again.

The Pre-Trial Hearing is where Defendants most often invoke the Constitutional rights which have been popularized as "technicalities." As a practical matter, however, cases are rarely dismissed in Cuyahoga County on the basis of some Constitutional Procedural Infraction done by police or prosecutors cf. *State v. McGettrick* (1988) 40 Ohio App. 3d 25. The Pre-Trial Hearing too is where 85-90 percent of criminal cases which have reached this stage are disposed. That disposition — the entering of a plea — is a "voluntary" admission of guilt by the Defendant given after a consideration of the relative weight of the evidence, the prior criminal background of the Defendant, the particular judges, prosecutors, police — and defense counsel involved, as well as a myriad of other factors which encourage the Defendant to throw in the towel and spare the State the expense of a trial.

Since the beginning of the 1980's, the resolution of criminal offenses through charge reduction has significantly decreased. The prosecutor's office maintains that this is due to more 'realistic' charging at the Grand Jury level. Of course, since Grand Jury proceedings are secret, that assertion is unreviewable by any other than the prosecutors themselves. Many defense counsels assert to the contrary that it is due to the greater omnipotence of the prosecutor's office as buttressed by the law-and-order fervor (see also Dershowitz' exasperation at the

lopsided balance of resources between Federal and state government vis-a-vis a Defendant[10]). Defense Counsel have become increasingly sensitized to their own vulnerability to crime accusations.[11]

In a study sponsored by the Cuyahoga County Defense Lawyers Association in 1988, it was revealed that juries acquitted 33 percent of the time. Bench trials resulted in acquittal verdicts 23 percent of the time. This finding was used to refute assertions by prosecutors that they should be able to successfully object to a Defendant's request to a bench trial before a judge rather than a jury. The obvious implication was that judges were corrupt and therefore more susceptible to bribery by Defendants. These statistics indicated that a Defendant had a better chance before a jury than a judge.

Common Pleas judges in Ohio come up for election every six years. Not only are they more accountable to the public, but recently it has become more and more evident that they are tightly monitored by the prosecutor's office. Such intense scrutiny makes Common Pleas judges more vulnerable to a "Willie Horton" type of strategy at campaign time. Thus judges are not at liberty to really exercise the discretion legally bestowed upon them by law. Prosecutors therefore have that much influence in the ulitmate disposition of cases.

The increased intolerance of adjudicated aberrant behavior is also reflected in the increased commitment of Defendants to Ohio's penal facilities — this despite the fact that the crime rate is not significantly increasing. Because of the lower birth rate, coupled with the static crime rate, the proportion of African Americans who are incarcerated is growing. Although African Americans constitute 11 percent of Ohio's population, they constitute at least 60 percent of the penal population, according to the Ohio Department of Correction.

Although the prosecutor is usually not present physically at the Sentencing Hearing, a more rigid sentencing philosophy has been essentially adopted "per curium" by the Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court system. Once adjudicated guilty by plea or conviction, a Defendant has no right to a Pre-Sentence Report which would allow him or her to be considered for Probation, Criminal Rule 32.2, except in murder cases. Factors which may be considered by the Sentencing Court are set forth in O.R.C. 2929.12 and include prior juvenile and criminal history, work record, family background, present offense circumstances, education, present demeanor and attitude, among others. The U.S. Supreme Court has held that the Sentencing Court has extremely broad discretion in imposing sentence, *U.S. v. Grayson* (1978), 438 U.S. 41. Such broad discretion worked to the detriment of African Americans in Cuyahoga County. In a *Cleveland Plain Dealer* study, presented in December, 1979, it was reported that Americans of African heritage were disproportionately represented in the State's correction's system. This statistic was maintained even when investigators held for similar crimes and similar backgrounds. In other words, African Americans were given longer and stiffer sentences than other groups. The fact that this disproportionality still holds true is evidenced by the previously cited Ohio penal figure.

SUMMARY

Hence, one by one, valued protections developed during a period of enlightenment and humanity are being swept away. Our recommendations to the African American community in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, to offset this trend are that they:

1. register and exercise their First Amendment right to vote;
2. develop systematic methods to monitor and disseminate information about the Criminal Justice System;
3. encourage the Black Bar, i.e. The Norman S. Minor Bar Association as well as individual attorneys to be active in the effort to make the agencies, organizations and persons in the Criminal Justice System responsive to African Americans, both as victims and defendants;
4. work toward citizen participation in the various components of the Criminal Justice System;
5. work closely with community leaders and legislators in developing realistic, responsive laws;
6. work actively to ensure Black employees in every level of criminal justice functioning and policy formation;
7. become active in the creation and viability of local, neighborhood organizations concerned with criminal justice issues; and,
8. develop on-going relationships with other social institutions, i.e., churches, schools, housing, economic, etc.

While these recommendations may not be fully effective in changing the will of the U.S. Supreme Court in the next ten or twenty years, at least they should serve to mitigate some of its more disastrous consequences for African Americans here in Cuyahoga County.

In summary, when it comes to the criminal justice system, the State of Black Cleveland is a sad one! Any amelioration of this fact would take major changes in the educational, economic, family and social institutions in the Greater Cleveland Area.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Alan M. Dershowitz, *The Best Defense*, New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1983, p. xviii.

[2] Ibid. p. xviii.

[3] 37 *Ohio App. 3d* 50.

[4] In summary O.R.C. 2929.04 (A) provides that the Death Penalty for aggravated murder may be imposed when one or more of the following summated conditions is proven beyond a reasonable doubt:

1. The offense was an assassination of
   a. the president or, elect; vice-president or, elect;
   b. the governor or, elect; lieutenant-governor or, elect
2. The offense was committed for hire
3. The offense was done to escape processing of another offense committed by the offender
4. The offense was committed by a prisoner in detention
5. The offender was convicted of a prior unlawful homicide
6. The victim of the offense was a peace officer
7. The offense was committed while the offender was committing kidnapping, rape, aggravated arson, aggravated robbery, or aggravated burglary, and either the offender was the principal offender or committed the aggravated murder with prior calculation and design
8. The victim was a witness who was purposely killed to prevent or in retaliation for testimony

[5] Of. *State* v. *Jenkins* (1984), 15 Ohio St. 3d 164; *State* v. *Maurel*, (1984), 15 Ohio St., 3d 239; *State* v. *Buell* (1986), 22 Ohio St. 3d 124; *State* v. *Williams* (1986), 23 Ohio St. 3d 16; *State* v. *Brooks* (1986), 25 Ohio St. 3d 144; *State* v. *Scott* (1986), 26 Ohio St. 3d 92; *State* v. *Glenn* (1986), 28 Ohio St. 3d 451; *State* v. *Steffin* (1987), 31 Ohio St. 3d 111; *State* v. *Zuern* (1987) 32 Ohio St. 3d 56; *State* v. *Stumpf* (1987), 32 Ohio St. 3d 95; *State* v. *Morales* (1987), 32 Ohio St. 3d 252; *State* v. *Post* (1987), 32 Ohio St. 3d 380; *State* v. *Coleman* (1988), 37 Ohio St. 3d 286; *State* v. *Williams* (1988), 38 Ohio St. 3d 346; *State* v. *Davis* (1988), 38 Ohio St. 361.

[6] *Gideon* v. *Wainwright* (1963), 372 U.S. 335; *Argersinger* v. *Hamilton* (1972), 407 U.S. 25; *Scott* v. *Illinois* (1979), 440 U.S. 367; *State* v. *Weaver* (1988), 38 Ohio St. 3d 160; (but See *State* v. *Hix* (1988), 38 Ohio St., 3d 129, for the opinion that there is no right to an independent psychiatric examiner.)

[7] *State* v. *Downey* (1988), 37 Ohio App. 3d 45.

[8] *State* v. *Ramey* (1988), 39 Ohio App. 3d 169.

[9] Op cit. Dershowitz, p. 79

[10] Op cit.

[11] Op cit.; *In Re Sherlock, Alleged Condemnor, Appellant*, (1987), 37 Ohio App 3d 204.

Drug Abuse

By Joseph Methapo, Ph.D.
Clinical Psychologist

These days, the chief topic of dinner conversation is not personal hardship, not stocks, not school grades. It is drugs: the human waste that drugs make of life, waste that lives in the frustration and despair of parents whose offspring shoot themselves to death with drugs or shoot each other with guns for drug deals.

Cleveland increasingly shares the same drug-related problems: crime, violence, death and despair that Detroit, New York and New Jersey know so well.

For the purpose of this discussion a broad definition of drug addiction will be employed. According to this definition, drug addiction occurs when someone uses drugs independent of and/or beyond the medicinal level and becomes dependent. This attachment may be psychological, or both psychological and physical. The former occurs in the case of marijuana addiction and the latter in the case of heroin addiction. The addiction has such a grip on the individual that he devotes all his waking hours to getting the next fix.

The drug addict shares this acquired behavior with the alcoholic. In Cleveland's inner city, the most commonly abused drugs are crack, cocaine, and herion. Crack, a derivative of cocaine, is ruining an already damaged, ravaged and poor inner-city population. It fills the pockets of a few, while it picks the pockets of many — poor and rich alike. Where crack reigns, there is a nest of violence and hopelessness. That nest is the inner-city projects.

COMMONLY ABUSED DRUGS

Crack has become the most fashionable drug in all schools and largely among the poor inner-city youth. Although no exact estimates exist about the number of crack abusers, their numbers certainly surpass those of cocaine abusers.

Cocaine has eclipsed heroin addiction as a popular drug of abuse because it is now in an abundant supply and this has brought down its price. Cocaine is known for its fierce addictive grip.

Heroin, remains the principal drug of abuse for older Blacks. Unfortunately, this is the drug-abusing group that has been struck with deadly AIDS, through sharing contaminated needles for injecting heroin into their bodies and through casual sexual behavior.

Marijuana is still a recreational drug used by over 25 million people nationally. Large groups of people use it in addition to alcohol and heroin.

No longer are drugs confined to users in the inner-city. Drugs are a problem

for suburban housewives, rural people, youth, lawyers and corporate executives.

To compound the problem further, there is no longer a single-drug abuser. Drug abusers, abuse multiple drugs. Nowadays, the heroin addict also does cocaine and alcohol. The alcoholic abuses heroin, too. Finally, the coke addict drinks alcohol in excess. The result is that the neat single drug treatment approach no longer holds true. Practitioners in both the alcohol and drug abuse field must learn each other's craft. The polydrug abuser has come to stay.

WHAT ATTRACTS PEOPLE TO DRUGS

Given the deadly hand that drugs always deal humans, it is often asked: "What attracts people to drugs?" People are attracted to drugs by a multitude of reasons, the allure differs among individuals, groups and classes. Some of the common causes are poverty, boredom, loneliness, managerial isolation and stress.

The poor are driven to drug abuse because of the emptiness of their lives, apathy, joblessness and the absence of an escape. Sports athletes try to escape from boredom and to search for psychological and for physical energy and relief. Suburban housewives, taxed by boredom, seek refuge in drugs. People spurned and scorned by their spouses or dates often use drugs as palliation. The overworked, burnt-out, unappreciated manager searches for relief in drugs. A desire to escape from the coldness of big rooms, and over-protective parents force rich youths to rebel by the use of drugs. Ghetto youths run from crowded, tattered tenements, rats and overwhelmed parents to the twilight and relief of drugs.

Research, nevertheless, reveals that the two most consistent causes of drug abuse are *low self-esteem* and *peer pressure*.

One conclusion can be reached: different people are pulled to a common allure — drugs — by different reasons. The search for temporary relief turns into permanent dependency for relief. The resulting addictions become dungeons of darkness and death.

WHY PEOPLE TURN TO TREATMENT

Most drug users do not come willingly into treatment. The majority are driven into treatment by:

- threat of jail by the law;
- threat of a divorce by a spouse;
- threat of job loss by an employer;
- threat of loss of shelter by the family; and,
- threat of loss of personal security due to financial problems.

Most forms of treatment for the various drugs have two major components: medical and therapeutic. There is usually some medication provided, coupled with counseling. The medication is given to alleviate withdrawal pains and to stabilize the individual so that he or she can respond to subsequent intensive counseling.

HOW EFFECTIVE ARE TREATMENT PROGRAMS?

Many people often want to know just how effective drug treatment programs are. The answer is that success rates differ from agency to agency, with a few performing an outstanding job.

The major criteria for success are: reduced drug use or total absence, reduced criminal behavior, securing legitimate employment, and reuniting with the family or a spouse. The first set of criteria are macro-factors — they involve substantial changes in the individual's personality. A second set of criteria are micro-factors. They are incremental and concern life-habits such as dependability, keeping appointments, retention, reduction of medication levels, number of counseling sessions kept and job appointments kept. Finally, there are criteria concerning feelings, — a client feels good about himself, his job or his family. Where the first two sets of criteria are objective and measurable, the last set is not measurable but subjective.

Results from a "self-report" survey[1] released on methadone clinics by the Ohio Department of Drug Abuse in 1987, revealed the following:

1. Abstinence from use of illicit drugs ranged from 45 percent to 75 percent for an average of 60 percent.
2. Abstinence from committing new crimes ranged from 45 percent to 95 percent for an average of 73 percent.
3. Obtaining and maintaining employment ranged from 39 percent to 65 percent for an average of 45 percent.
4. Attendance at AA meetings ranged from 45 percent to 75 percent for an average of 65 percent.

Cocaine, crack and other drug addicts, for whom preliminary data is available, don't fare any better in terms of the above success criteria. Success rates are just as depressing.

John Tidyman[2], writing in the *Cleveland Edition*, stated that the chemical abuse/addiction treatment outcome registry (CATOR) cited for alcoholics, shows a relapse rate of 53 percent.

The success rates for abstinence are low. They are, however, no worse than those reported for other chronic conditions such as alcoholism and schizophenia. Permanent sobriety is reported for no more than 25 to 35 percent of alcoholics.[3] The comparative figure for complete and permanent recovery among schizophrenics is 15 to 20 percent. The dismal results demonstrate the difficulty of handling chronic conditions which followed a pattern of periods of wellness followed by relapse. Drug addiction relapse rates are astoundingly high, confirming the difficulty of recovering once one is addicted.

THE DETROIT CONNECTION

Drugs from South America enter the United States through Miami. New drugs, however, and trends in drug use generally, emerge on the West Coast, mainly,

in San Francisco, and are then exported to New York City on the East Coast. From there the trends are picked up in the Midwest in places like Detroit, and finally, Cleveland.

Detroit is the gateway to drugs coming into Cleveland. This has been so for years.

The lastest drug to infiltrate Cleveland through Detroit is crack. Initially the drug was merely transported like other drugs. Soon, however, the drug dealers from Detroit invaded Cleveland themselves to establish and operate their franchises personally. The reason for this move is that the home markets were saturated and new territories had to be conquered. Cleveland's large poor population is a source of big profits for the dealers.

A few Jamaicans from the South and the West also established themselves as franchise-holders in Cleveland. Most of the immigrant drug pushers have made East Cleveland their headquarters.

Anyone who wonders what this invasion holds in store for us should take a look at what has happened to Detroit's young people. For most of this decade, Detroit has been Homicide City No. 1. Young people there kill each other for drugs and for drug turfs. Children drop out of school to make a vast, fast fortune selling drugs. Kids who stay in school peddle drugs to their playmates, while tooling around in BMW's and wearing designer outfits bought with their drug profits.

Today, Washington, D.C., with 372 drug-related murders in 1988, has become the chief homicide city in the country. The health system, the police force and the treatment centers in the city are all so overwhelmed by the problems they are near collapse.

DRUGS IN CLEVELAND

Cocaine abuse in Cleveland has increased dramatically since 1985. An upsurge in crack use has taken place in just the last three years as Detroit's pushers have moved into town. These facts have put new pressures on local methadone clinics.

One of the larger agencies has the majority of its clients in the Mount Pleasant and Kinsman catchment areas. The next largest area is Hough which is the most depressed and poorest section of the city and the site of the 1966 riots.

The fastest growing population of addicts inhabits the projects which lie inside the city, mainly the King Kennedy Estates and Carver Park. These are the new markets for drug dealers, the holes in which users of all types of drugs live and where the dealers come to sell their wares to a captive and hopeless people — the poorest of the poor.

The marketplace for drugs changes, but only in terms of the locale not in regard to cultural milieu. The change occurs from one poor area to another. Perhaps, poor rich to poor — if the price changes. Otherwise, it is always a change from poor to poor.

Evidence for this is seen in the daily news on television showing poor Blacks being rounded up and pushed into crowded police vans. There are, how-

ever, isolated and infrequent instances of white collar types being arrested.

In Cleveland, over 80 percent of the crimes reported which take place are drug-related. And now law enforcement officers have to contend with the guns that are used in the violent turf wars. The type of guns used by drug dealers are not Saturday Night Specials. They are more deadly: semi-automatic weapons – such as the AK47's.

The drug-related gun problem has become so serious that the Cleveland City Council passed legislation recently that bans the sale and possession of semi-automatic assault weapons. A violator receives a mandatory sentence of six months in jail and a $1,000 fine. Council also passed an ordinance to arm police with nine millimeter semi-automatic hand guns, to match the firepower of the drug dealers.

Cleveland: look what has happened to your sister cities. Our city fathers, leaders and community activists must do everything in their power to prevent the slow death of our youth by drugs.

DRUG TREATMENT RESOURCES IN CLEVELAND

Resources for the prevention and treatment of alcoholics and drug abusers are less than adequate, for the needs of Blacks in Cleveland.

The Regional Council On Alcoholism operates publicly funded alcohol programs in the city, mainly for White clients. St. Vincent Charity Hospital, Cleveland Clinic and the Huron Road Hospital have all joined the bandwagon to provide treatment to alcohol and drug abuse clients. While St. Vincent Hospital (Rosemary House) treats the rich and poor alike, the Cleveland Clinic limits services to professionals and businessmen.

Huron Road Hospital and St. Vincent Charity Hospital have been compelled to deal with Black clients because of a decline in their traditional markets. This has brought them into direct competition with Black residential programs for alcoholics, like ORCA House and Exodus House.

Glenbeigh Inc. operates two centers in Cuyahoga County. These provide alcohol and cocaine and crack therapy for all paying clients. This results in a denial of treatment to the indigent.

Recently, a few programs designed to provide education and treatment for convicted drunk drivers in lieu of incarceration, have been developed. There are approximately four in the City. All cater to White clients and there is a pressing need for one or two to deal with the inner-city alcohol abuser.

METHADONE CLINICS

Cleveland is the home of two of the largest methadone treatment clinics in the state of Ohio. These clinics provide services to approximately 620 clients, 80 percent of whom are on methadone therapy.[4] The total client population of the two clinics constitutes over 50 percent of the heroin addicts in the state. Both programs are headed by Black administrators ably assisted by largely Black staffs.

More than 74 percent of the clients in either agency are Black.

Narcotics Anonymous Groups have been introduced in both programs. Both report modest success. These methadone programs also provide care for cocaine abusers. Specialized cocaine treatment in Cleveland is rendered by three centers. The Cleveland Treatment Center operates a small outpatient center that does pre-trial/sentencing screening for both the Cleveland Municipal Court and the County Common Pleas Court. Reports are submitted to the Judges, with respect to consideration of treatment in lieu of sentencing, for the charged participants. Inpatient treatment services for cocaine abusers is furnished gratis. The City of Cleveland's substance abuse unit provides intermediate care to cocaine users. The Cleveland Treatment Center Unit serves as a feeder outlet for both the in-patient and the intermediate centers.

All three cocaine programs were started in 1987 as a result of the tremendous increase in cocaine and crack abusers in the city. This increase is more shocking considering that police estimates indicate that drugs are involved in over 80 percent of their crime cases.

PUBLIC POLICY — What Should Be Done At The Governmental Level?

The Government can and should play a key role in treatment, prevention and enforcement efforts. The major areas for government involvement are typically the demand and the supply sides.

Demand Side. Under this heading falls the treatment and prevention of drug abuse. What is most critically needed is for treatment options to be expanded and not diminished. Additional treatment outlets should be made available in all areas. There must be in-patient intermediate services in addition to the inexpensive out-patient services. Finally, combinations of these treatment options should be tried out. The current monolithic out-patient approach must be abolished.

Prevention. Prevention is the key, considering that there is no easy cure for addiction. The chances for recovery are slim and the relapse rate is astonishingly high. Curricula on drug abuse, its cause, the effects of treatment and prevention must be developed, and taught in all grades as well as in the professional schools: social work, psychology, nursing, law and medicine.

Parent groups, such as the PTA, must be given frequent lectures on drugs. Children must be taught about drug abuse, stress and stress management long before the second grade.

Supply Side. Under this category fall international trafficking, interdiction, surveillance control and arrests and enforcement.

International Trafficking and Interdiction. America needs a consistent and tough policy toward drug producing and exporting countries that dump their poison on American soil. Citizens of these countries violate the Monroe Doctrine by invading our country at will and killing our people.

America must stop trade and aid to all countries producing and/or exporting

illegal drugs to our shores. As a counter measure, America should offer more than crop substitution and income substitution because the subsidies offered are grossly inadequate. They are less than what the culprit countries make from the cultivation and sale of the illegal drugs. Bolivia was recently offered subsidies that equalled one-quarter of what she makes from the sale of cocaine.[5] What these countries need is fair trade and more free trade. They need preferential trade concessions and massive assistance in economic development — development that results in economic and social stability to ensure modest subsistence to urban residents and rural peasants alike. Debt relief should also be furnished as this would substantially boost the economy of the source countries.

America must cease to ignore the wrong doings of dictators simply because they are anti-red. These men pocket the development dollars intended for the poor. America must say to the likes of Panama's Noriega: "Your days are over. You are finished."

Enforcement. Funds for surveillance and seizure of traffickers and their loot must be substantially augmented. Efforts should be consolidated. The new drug Czar that Congress created in 1988 must be bestowed with the powers of a true Czar.

Improved, modern and sophisticated surveillance systems must be put in place. Many more planes must be procured and manpower must be fortified.

Municipalities have become the battle fields for sales, fights and violence. To adequately handle the task of fighting the drug war, local police departments must be strengthened.

WHAT SPECIFICALLY MUST BE DONE FOR THE DEPRIVED YOUTH IN THE PROJECTS

The sight of young, inner-city kids tossed into police trucks, because of drug dealing or purchase, is daily TV fare in Cleveland. It is a mark of the times.

Picking up drug users and petty dealers and throwing them into police trucks and then into jails is the old, familiar and failed approach. Like the prostitute, they are arrested, are one minute at the police station and, the next, back in the streets.

The question, then, is what is the most effective approach? Some would say education. Others would say treatment. Each of these suggestions is one-sided. What is needed is an approach that covers all the sides completely. Such an approach would, first, send in a minister to talk about values: goodness, patience and the glory of God. The minister, will be followed by teachers who will teach about good job habits, budgeting, politics, economics, psychology and childbearing practices.

This teaching can't be traditional teaching — traditional education. No. What's needed is an education which prepares individuals for jobs and provides them with the chance to grow and experience a sense of self-worth. The goal of the education of the youth in the projects must be to make them inquisitive and

sufficiently curious to turn reading into a lifelong pursuit. It must be entertaining and wholesome.

The social workers who will talk about drug prevention and treatment would follow the teachers. Simultaneous, with the prevention and treatment initiatives, the petty dealers and drug abusers must be trained for jobs and where possible, hired. They must be given jobs in the building and repairing of the national infrastructure and in helping at nursing homes and day care centers. These are jobs that will boost their self-esteem and make them feel like somebody, and enable them to support their kin. In this way, they can become part of the American dream and reality.

Those in the projects are the forgotten and invisible people of America. They are barred from living the American reality by lack of education, lack of jobs and lack of opportunities. They are permitted only the frustration of seeing American affluence on TV — available and real but denied to them. They are permitted only the anger and the hatred of knowing that they cannot drink from the fountain of knowledge nor acquire job skills. They have only one right and talent: to express a capacity for love-making and to transmit life.

America must lift these forgotten people out of the slums, into the sunlight of American liberty and opportunity. These are the people who have thus far failed to mount and organize a lobby. They have been ignored by many generations of administrations. They need a voice to speak up for them. They are a volcano that will eventually break loose. Society must prevent this imminent disaster.

Society must help them climb out of the mud of their misery and provide them with something to stand on, that's the trinity of jobs, social support systems and work skills.

NETWORKING

Drug treatment and prevention programs must begin to network. At this stage, there is no mechanism for them to meet. Networking will eliminate the current ignorance each group has of the other's work, and will cancel the duplication that presently occurs.

PREVENTION AND EDUCATION

The challenge stares Madison Avenue think tanks and researchers in the eye. For starters, Black addicts listen to the radio a lot and love to watch television. These two media should be fully utilized, compared to the standard printed word.

RESEARCH

Much more investigative reporting and research should be undertaken. This will assist in better understanding and promote the development of appropriate and individualized treatment schedules. The current lack or absence of research reports and findings would be eliminated.

PUBLIC FUNDING

It is time for industry to begin partnership with the major methadone treatment programs. Each of the two programs must be adopted by a major corporation. Such a donor corporation must provide job training and job opportunities for qualifying clients from the adopted clinic. Corporate America must focus on this neglected segment of society. It must no longer be neglected and wasted. It should be utilized.

Other local companies should make donations in cash and in-kind, to help these programs function properly. The programs need furniture, office supplies and inexpensive sports equipment like ping pong and pool tables and appropriate accessories. These drug programs play a key role in reducing crime — robberies and burglaries.

What is often ignored in the war against drugs is the most dependable, committed and concerned: the local community. The people in the various communities must be involved and employed in the prevention endeavors and so should the churches. The people have everything in their hands to effect change. Let's face the facts: even if banks, laundering drug dollars are apprehended, gun control is instituted nationally, poverty and homelessness are overcome — drugs will still be with us. Change is absolutely demanded.

History is replete with instances that illustrate that social change occurs only when people say "no more."

Sometime in 1955, Rosa Parks, a seamstress, refused to give up her seat and move to the rear of the bus in Montgomery, saying: "My feet are hurting, I ain't moving". This same spirit of protest and determination is absolutely necessary if we are to win the war against drugs here in Cleveland and in every city across the country.

FOOTNOTES

[1] K. Rogers, *Success With Methadone Treatment*, Ohio Bureau Of Drug Abuse. International Memorandum. August 1987

[2] J. Tidyman, "The High Cost Of Drying Out," *Cleveland Edition* 3, No. 13, March 31, 1988.

[3] H. Fingarette, *Heavy Drinking. The Myth Of Alcoholism As A Disease*, University of California Press. 1988

[4] Personal communications from the staff of the local Methadone Treatment Clinics. Data was derived from monthly client records. November 1988.

[5] M.J. Gilligannon, "Drugs, Debt and Dependency," *America*, October 29, 159 No. 12 1988.

Juvenile Gangs: An Analysis

By Mary S. Jackson, Ph.D.
Cleveland State University

They meet with darkness in the daytime
And they grope at noonday as in the night...
— Job

Although it may seem to be an odd comparison, one can find many similarities between an adolescent gang and a college fraternity. Both engage in violence — hazing in the case of fraternity. Members wear distinguishing colors, travel in groups as a show of identity, allow females to wear their colors or pins, are secretive about group or fraternity business outside of the group, specify initiation procedures required for entrance, and use secret body language.

This comparison is made because my purpose in this chapter is to suggest that in order to deal with the problems of juvenile gangs we need to view them from a different perspective. This different perspective does not deny that gangs can be threatening, frustrating, dangerous and costly to society. My point is that gang members use group membership to find their place in the world, in the same way that a college student uses fraternity membership. Both forms of group activity supply the basic human needs of safety, security, sanctions, and identity.

If for a moment we can put aside the serious destructive behavior that differentiates the two groups, we would find that they share motives, needs and incentives that are common to most young adults in our society.

In discussing the problems of a college student, we have to approach the problem, with a positive point of view. The aim here is to give emerging gangs in the city of Cleveland the same benefit of the doubt and approach them as if we were analyzing problems displayed by college students. Perhaps, if we can begin to take a different mental approach and understand that the initial intent of gang membership, like college entrance, is not pathological, then maybe we can begin to truly make progress in finding solutions to the destructive components and strengthen the positive areas just as we attempt to do in our support of college students.

Social institutions affect the types of activities that are displayed by individuals and groups in our society (Jones, 1980). For example, society sanctions college fraternities and in many cases dismisses their antics on the grounds that "boys will be boys." Yet we fail to accept the fact that society also sanctions juvenile gangs (Trojasowicz & Morash, 1987) though in somewhat different ways. They

exist in a hostile contradictory environment and are expected to "make it." Their environment instills within their members a need to cope with and respond to the contradictory messages. In this environment they must become even more creative and skillful than the college student in their struggle to survive. For unlike the college student, they can not rely on numerous positive reinforcements provided by society.

This chapter will point out, in as unbiased and accurate manner as possible, some of the problems and some of the virtues of gangs in the city of Cleveland. Secondly, the chapter will refute the belief that there are no gangs existing in Cleveland, just teenagers getting together to have a little fun. Finally, and in more general terms, I am suggesting in this chapter that Cleveland's gang members are participating in capitalistic endeavors encouraged by a capitalistic society. The capitalistic aim of making a profit is no less American, just because it is being pursued by gang members. Profit is one of their primary goals. In the light of this analysis, appropriate strategies will be identified as a means of responding to the gang phenomena.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND GANGS IN CLEVELAND

There are numerous college fraternities in the city of Cleveland and they go to great lengths to keep the spirit of their fraternity alive. There are specified weeks set aside for each fraternity to show their colors and to demonstrate competitiveness in an effort to increase membership. Juvenile gangs in Cleveland show similar patterns: they too recruit, initiate, and teach each other.

Many criminologists (Thrasher, 1963; Miller, 1975; Healy & Bonner, 1980) have concluded that delinquency is largely a result of gang operation. In Cuyahoga County the Juvenile Court statistics are staggering. According to 1987 Juvenile Court statistics, there were 5,390 official delinquency complaints filed on children in Juvenile Court. The most common offenses were theft, assault and burglary. From 1986 to 1987 there were 8,464 official hearings in Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court involving 7,193 individual children which was about 4.5 percent of the total juvenile population in the six to seventeen year age range. Of Black youths in the ten to thirteen age range, about 26 percent were in Juvenile Court on delinquent petitions and for age fourteen to fifteen the figure was about 40 percent.

According to Palen, (1987), juvenile delinquency rates are highest in zones immediately surrounding the central business district of large cities, and tend to drop steadily as the city radiates outward. This concentric distribution is attributed to the physical decay of residential areas as they give way to business, industrial encroachment, and the consequent concentration of the poor, underprivileged, and the uprooted. Table 1 gives the delinquency rate data for Cleveland which validates this view. The majority of Cleveland gangs are concentrated in these areas.

A number of theories purport to explain the high activity rate during the 1950s

and 1960s. Many of these theories focused on street gangs. For example, Cohen (1955) suggested that the high rates of gang activity reflect a basic conflict between lower class youths' subculture and the dominate middle class culture.

We can see this phenomenon on college campuses between the fraternity members and in some cases, the non-fraternity members may be considered "nerds" or "geeks". Juvenile gang members experience the same type of status frustration in their search for higher mobility and goal achievement. They form gangs as an alternative to being isolated by society (Muehlbauert Dodder, 1983).

Cloward & Ohlin's (1960) theory discusses gangs in terms of the subculture's norms, values and expectations where gang activity is culturally induced. Most universities provide moral and some financial support to fraternities and alumni support as well. Black youth in urban centers, according to this theory, experience limited opportunities and thus are unable to achieve goals by legitimate means and lack an adult friend or advisor to whom they can vent their frustrations.

Miller (1966) argued that there is a relationship between family structural patterns (e.g. female led households) and gang membership. A theory such as this one perpetuates the view that the gang member is defective, pathological or abnormal.

Juveniles who enter gangs may or may not be pathologically defective or abnormal. What we really need to consider, however, is the possibility that they are simply reacting to an abnormal environment (Durkheim, 1964). The basic ingredients of gang existence are deeply embedded within the fabric of the American society. America is a nation of contradictions. For example, American values and attitudes both support and condemn violence. The popularity of contact sports (e.g., boxing, football, hockey, martial arts), movies depicting massacres and mayhem (e.g. the Terminator, Rambo, Friday the 13th, Nightmare on Elm Street), extensive ownership of firearms, violence of Saturday morning cartoons and numerous television programs (e.g. Miami Vice, Equalizer,) send the message to adolescents that violence is sanctioned by society. Even talk shows have moved into the realm of television violence (e.g. Geraldo, Morton Downy, Jr.). These shows supposedly talk logically and rationally to resolve differences. Recent altercations on the Geraldo show and constant violence on the Morton Downy Show increased the ratings of these shows indicating a preference for violence over rational thinking. Throughout the course of daily life adult action continues to send the hostile message to adolescents that violence is simply a fact of life in this society. In a complete about face, adolescents who emulate these standards are labeled as delinquents and are incarcerated.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GANG

I became interested in gangs as I observed that there are more gang members in correctional institutions than non-gang members. I observed that gang members become leaders within the institution even though they were not

leaders of their gangs.

As with college student, gang members have dreams of a better life and a better world (Jackson, 1988). I wanted to discover whether they articulated this desire for a better life only because they were incarcerated. Thus, I began to investigate the aims of gang members outside of correctional institutions. As a result of this interest, I made contact with members of gangs, the fourth district police department in the City of Cleveland, a youth street worker and a social worker. As a result of these contacts, I was able to gather a considerable amount of information regarding gang activities and characteristics, most of which came from incarcerated gang members. Incidentally, one may be led to believe that gang identity is lost in an institutional setting. I found that juvenile delinquent facilities are good gang recruitment arenas. Gang members develop sophisticated methods of streaming and monitoring their criteria for membership and they maintain a unique communication system with their colleagues on the outside. Their sophistication was equally skillful outside of the correctional facility.

Each gang has a history of encounters with the police as a result of fighting, stealing, carrying weapons and using drugs. The structure of the gang is generally loose. They vary in size. The largest gang in the area has approximately 125 members. The smallest has about twenty. Members travel in groups of twos or threes and it is unusual to see larger numbers together at any one time or in any one place. A gang is basically autocratic and can be divided into two distinct groups: a leader or a leadership clique of five or six, and the ordinary members. A gang will have different age divisions, each with its own organizational structure.

East side Cleveland neighborhoods are infested with gangland activity. Each gang has a special area of expertise. In the Superior area for instance, the Dynamite Devils are notorious for dirty fighting. Members fight with any kind of weapon and defy their opponents at every opportunity. The ideals of masculinity, toughness, excitement and reputation are stressed. The Dollar Bill Boys are a subdivision of the Dynamite Devils and rule the Harry E. Davis area. This gang emphasizes getting money any way it can.

The M.O.s (Members Only) specialty is stealing cars. They operate out of the 131st and Kinsman area and are skilled in the knowledge of automobiles. The Harvard Home Boys also specialize in cars especially Chevrolets. They operate out of the Lee-Harvard area.

The J.D.'s (Juvenile Delinquents) are known for drug deals. They specialize in the selling and distribution of drugs, specifically reefers.

The Brick City Outlaws operate principally out of the projects in the East 55th area. Their specialty is stealing gold and other jewelry items.

The St. Clair Gangsters must demonstrate that they can take care of themselves when threatened or provoked and a great deal of emphasis is placed on the conquest. They deal in drugs and the distribution of narcotics.

The "Niggers" off the Clair (NOC) is an offshoot of the St. Clair Gangsters. They are noted for their girls division.

The Carefree Boys operate out of the East Cleveland area. They specialize in the dominance of women/girls (pimping) and fine cars

These gangs fight to secure and defend their honor as males and their neighborhoods. The violence serves as means for individual gang members to achieve prestige, honor and recognition which they believe they cannot find outside of the gang.

Though these gangs still have struggles over turf, the major thrust is "business." They have discovered that it is good business to discuss problems between gang members so that they can quickly move on to the business at hand, money. The shift from turf and honor to money explains the different sizes and operations of today's gangs in Cleveland. They can be contacted via their beepers (which have been banned in the Cleveland Public Schools).

Most of the gang members range in age from nine to twenty-five. The gangs also vary in size. They are 95 percent male with some gangs allowing female auxiliaries. Many of the gangs receive adult support for their activities (Brown, 1983) and some are associated with organized adult criminal activity. Adults create some of these gangs and keep them in business by providing financial support, space for their operations as well as emotional support and ego strengthening

Incarceration time is not as great for juveniles, thus the gang members are very important commodities. Juveniles are instructed by their adult supporters "...to do your time, we will take care of everything until you return because we care about you." There is a mutual expectation by all parties that a bond will be formed. For example, one incarcerated gang member had $2,000 waiting for him upon his return to the community. When his mother visited him in a juvenile correctional facility she asked: "Where shall I keep all this money?" Contact with the gang is maintained while they are incarcerated via girlfriends, gang members and parents.

FAMILY

Parents are often faced with a dilemma: if they refuse to accept money from their adolescent gang member, they then must struggle alone to feed other family members.

There was a time when the Black parent could call upon the church for spiritual, financial and moral assistance (Frazier, 1974). However, the traditional role of the Black church is diminishing, leaving a serious void. The gang member explains that Sundays are lucrative business days where much money can be secured at the shopping malls. There is little time for church and they excuse themselves saying: "My mother does not go, so why should I?" Although preachers and ministers may recognize their competition, they too are struggling as their roles become more entrenched within the political arena which gives them less time to reach out from the pulpits into the streets.

Discrimination is a factor in creating the instability of the Black family

(Billingsley, 1988). When the future holds little promise, it is difficult to feel that discipline, hard work and self denial are worth the effort (Jones, 1980). Carmichael (1969) stated that if hard work is the key to advancement, Blacks would be the richest people in this county.

Parents of gang members are faced with limited resources to aid them. Contrary to popular belief, they often make attempts to intervene in their child's life, but often become overwhelmed because their point of intervention usually comes late in the school year when they hear from the principal or guidance counselor. These parents experience the same type of response as that of the parent of a college student with similar academic problems. Frustration and anger set in as they do not know how to deal with the situation, which is out of control at this point. Yet, they hang on to the hope that their child will eventually "get his act together."

A large majority of these gang members are teenage parents. Gibbs (1988) indicates that though there is presently a decline in the birth rate trend among Black adolescents, the pregnancy rates are still twice as high among Blacks as opposed to White counterparts. The unwed father gang member, like the unwed college student who has children, has to work twice as hard to support "his baby." Liebow (1968) concludes that within gangs, the dominate norm is accepted: it is the male's responsibility to protect and provide for his baby. Thus, it is more of a myth than reality that these teen gang member fathers do not desire continued involvement with their children.

WHAT GANG MEMBERSHIP OFFERS

Gang membership offers basically the same rewards as a college fraternity offers the college student. Gang membership provides certain human needs that are not met elsewhere. It offers a sense of security and belonging to an extended family that can be counted on when things are rough. Membership offers the gang member an arena in which he can test his skills and an opportunity to become a "winner." Furthermore, gang membership offers survival strategies: you learn to take care of yourself on the streets.

Belonging to a gang offers a substitute for a father figure which is provided by an older criminal who becomes an intrinsic part of the adolescent's life. Usually a gang member is influenced by his mentor. Personal values are instilled as he is educated in the lifestyle he must adopt if he is to achieve success within the gang. Gang membership provides networking and identity. The special language that is used strengthens his identity. The special language that is used strengthens his identity. For example, "Ma, Nig" is a term which signifies a close relationship, a special partnership.

Gang membership also teaches the principles of economics to its members. In America, success is measured by financial gains. In the gang, financial importance is based on how knowledgeable, skillful and hardworking the member becomes. It perpetuates and puts into focus capitalism at its best (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1985). Where the college student ponders over concepts like

inflation, stagnation and gross national product (GNP) during class lectures, the gang member applies those principles in day-to-day practice. Thus, gang membership offers a realistic insight into American economics. This is usually the area where most gang members earn an A plus.

CONCLUSIONS

Journalistic accounts of street gangs convey a distorted picture of gang participation in violent anti-social behavior. A good example of this was the January, 1989 Collinwood incident which resulted in the death of a young man. The media immediately portrayed a picture of "gangland warfare." However, the community responded in a very positive manner which defused the situation.

These adolescents are at risk as Gibbs (1988) points out when she stated that they are often mistreated by the social system, mishandled by the criminal justice system, mislabeled by the mental health system and miseducated by the educational system.

Although we are told that the national school dropout rate for Black youths has decreased in recent years, the rate for Cleveland inner-city Black adolescents has increased to levels of 40 to 50 percent. In 1980, one out of five Black male teenagers in the Cleveland School District was unable to read at the fourth grade level and thus was unqualified for most entry level jobs, apprenticeship programs or military service. Unemployment rates for inner-city Cleveland youths range from 40 to 60 percent, three times higher than in 1960.

Crime and delinquency are rampant in the City of Cleveland, with Black youth gangs accounting for close to one-third of juvenile arrests for felony offenses. Drug abuse is endemic in many Cleveland neighborhoods creating not only lucrative jobs for unemployed adolescents, but exacerbating new health issues that Black males must also confront, primarily AIDS.

What do we do? Barnes (1980) and Hill (1986) have suggested that in considering strategies to save Black children, the community must first look to the Black elites. Just as Frazier (1965) placed faith in the emerging Black bourgeoisie as the hope of the future of these children, so does Barnes. His thinking is that the Black community must begin to define and determine roles and values as opposed to allowing these to be determined by others. The person who has the power to define is the master of the situation. We should not be content to sit back and allow the White community to identify problems and strategies. More time should be spent viewing the Black adolescent's strengths and positive attributes, rather than taking a pathological perspective that they are defective. If a positive approach is taken then maybe we could find strategies and realistic approaches that actually work!

Every Black adolescent is a potential gang member just as every college student is a potential fraternity brother. They both have goals of survival, achievement, and identity. In this regard, I have attempted to view an old phenomenon (gangs) in a new perspective

If a positive approach is taken, we will be in a better position to create strategies that will save our children.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnes, E.J., "The Black Community as the Source of Positive Self Concept for Black Children: A Theoretical Perspective." In *Black Psychology*. Ed. R. Jones. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Brown, W., *The Other Side of Delinquency*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983.

Carmichael, S., *Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan Africanism*. New York: Random House, 1971.

_____, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation In America*. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.

Cloward, R. & L. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity, A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.

Cohen, A.K., *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. New York: The Free Press, 1955.

Council for Economic Opportunities in Greater Cleveland. Poverty Indicators, Trends: 1970-1988. Cuyahoga County, Ohio, 1989.

Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court Annual Report, 1987.

Durkheim, E., 1964.

Frazier, E.F., *Black Bourgeoisie*. New York: Free Press, 1965.

_____, *The Negro Church in America*. New York: Schocken Books, 1974.

Gibbs, J., *Young, Black and Male in America: An Endangered Species*. Dover, Mass: Auburn House, 1988.

Glueck, S. and E.T. Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*. Cambridge, Mass.,: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Healy, W. & A. Bonner, 1980.

Hill, R.B., The Black Middle Class: Past, Present and Future. In the *State of Black America*, 1986, ed. by J.D. Williams New York: National Urban League, 1986.

Jones, R.L., *Black Psychology*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Liebow, E., *Tally's Corner*. Boston, Little, Brown, 1967.

Miller, Walter, *Violence by Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities*. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1975.

Muehlbauer, G. and L. Dodder. *The Loser: Gang Delinquency in An American Suburb*. New York: Praeger Publisher, 1983.

Palen, J.J., *The Urban World*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987.

Shaw, A.D., Delinquency, Crime, and Society. Ed. by James Short. Chicago: University Press, 1975.

Schwendinger, H. and J. Schwendinger, *Adolescent Subcultures and Delinquency*. New York: Praeger, 1985.

Thrasher, F.M., The Gang. rev. and abr. ed. by James Short. University of Chicago, 1965.

_____, The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago, Abridged and with introduction by James F. Short. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Trojanowicz, R.C. and M. Morash, *Juvenile Delinquency Concepts and Control*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice, Hall, Inc., 1987.

City of Cleveland Crime-Poverty Analysis

By Willa Mae Hemmons, Ph.D., J.D.

In a preceding chapter, James Willis and I presented the legal dimension of crime which describes the parameters against which persons are incriminated. In this chapter, the results of that incrimination process are described in terms of the sociological dimension. That dimension can be seen in the statistics given in Cleveland Police Reports; and, as highlighted by the demographics of the Cuyahoga County Human Services Department (the Welfare Department).

The statistics used in doing this analysis were provided by the six districts which constitute the basic service areas of the Cleveland Police Force. Secondly, the poverty rates published by the Human Service Department, as applied to Cleveland's geographic areas by the Council for Economic Opportunities, were utilized. As is described below, the crime rates were combined with the poverty rates to form a synthesized statistic which provides a new insight on the interrelationship of crime and poverty in the Cleveland area.

To begin the analysis, the crime rates of each of the six districts of the Cleveland Police Force were examined. A derived statistic, which this author terms the Crime-Poverty Index, reveals an interesting feature of the interaction between poverty and crime in the Cleveland Area. Basically, the relationship which is shown indicates that poverty is a much more reliable explanatory variable of crime for the East Side of Cleveland than for the West Side.

One would hypothesize that the more affluent the District, the lower the crime rate. While at first glance that was true of Cleveland, once the poverty rate was considered, the crime complexion changed. The poverty rate was used in order to help standardize the relative amount of crime per district. In other words, the question was asked: Given a particular District's economic level, does that District's corresponding level of crime greatly exceed what the economics would predict?

CLEVELAND CRIME RATES

		WHITE DISTRICTS			BLACK DISTRICTS		
OFFENSE	**DATE**	**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**	**4th**	**5th**	**6th**
Homicide							
	1986	10	12	15	31	31	25
	1987	8	20	23	40	26	26
Rape							
	1986	86	88	91	195	153	150
	1987	77	85	90	196	149	147
Robbery							
	1986	409	544	711	868	655	489
	1987	369	434	611	928	654	535
Aggr. Assault							
	1986	226	371	248	722	409	506
	1987	233	372	228	674	428	580
Burglary							
	1986	1981	2098	986	3595	1166	2102
	1987	2323	2184	1068	4126	1286	2176
Larceny							
	1986	2565	2109	2812	2868	1464	1546
	1987	2881	2347	2948	3076	1589	1899
Auto Theft							
	1986	1875	1214	2386	3140	1304	1820
	1987	1810	1286	1779	2652	1400	1581
Assault							
	1986	1286	1618	1024	2216	1303	1738
	1987	1396	1816	953	2511	1574	1998
Total	1986	8438	8054	8273	13635	6485	8376
	1987	9097	8544	7700	14203	7106	8943
1986-1987 Change		+7.8%	+6.1%	-6.9%	+4.2%	+9.6%	+6.8%
1985-1986 Change		+10.4%	+7.1%	-2.0%	+9.3%	+3.9%	+1.2%

1st District (3895 West 130th St.) 105,454 persons (1980 Census), 2nd District (3481 Fulton Road) 99,883 persons (1980 Census), 3rd District (2001 Payne Ave.) 29,217 persons (1980 Census), 4th District (9333 Kinsman Ave.) 131,6548 persons (1980 Census), 5th District (10600 Chester Ave.) 66,456 persons (1980 Census), 6th District (881 East 152nd St.) 103,162 persons (1980 Census)

CRIME-POVERTY INDEX*

	Poverty Rate	Crime Rate	CPI*
FIRST DISTRICT	16.87	8.63	51.16
Includes:			
17 Kamms Corner (8.66 = Poverty %)			
16 Jefferson (10.67)			
26 Puritas Longmead (11.88)			
9 Edgewater (19.71)			
6 Cudell (32.37)			
34 West Boulevard (19.11)			
27 Riverside (15.71)			
SECOND DISTRICT	39.84	8.56	21.49
Includes:			
7 Detroit Shoreway (48.19)			
23 Ohio City (60.85)			
4 Clark Fulton (34.92)			
1 Archwood Denison (33.23)			
24 Old Brooklyn (10.63)			
31 Tremont (51.20)			
THIRD DISTRICT	40.39	26.35	65.24
Includes:			
8 Downtown (22.33)			
25 Goodrich Kirtland Park (36.40)			
15 Industrial Valley (49.77)			
21 North Broadway (25.25)			
3 Central (68.19)			
FOURTH DISTRICT	47.45	10.79	22.74
Includes:			
18 Kinsman (81.58)			
35 Woodland Hills (68.14)			
2 Buckeye-Shaker (40.17)			
20 Mt. Pleasant (46.78)			
32 Union-Miles Park (57.63)			
5 Corlett (42.17			
19 Lee-Miles (22.31)			
29 South Broadway (20.78)			

CRIME-POVERTY INDEX*

	Poverty Rate	Crime Rate	CPI*
FIFTH DISTRICT Includes: 14 Hough (64.46 = Poverty %) 11 Fairfax (63.54) 33 University (35.27)	54.42	10.69	19.64
SIXTH DISTRICT Includes: 22 North Collinwood (20.04) 30 South Collinwood (41.56) 10 Euclid-Green (32.66) 12 Forest Hills (52.84) 13 Glenville (63.95) 28 St. Clair-Superior (59.25)	45.05	8.69	19.29

The Poverty Rate is published by the Council for Economic Opportunities in its *Poverty Indicators* Report for 1988. To obtain the "CPI", or Crime-Poverty Index, the Crime Rate for each district was divided by the corresponding Poverty Rate.

Obviously, crime in the Third and Fourth Police Districts is greatly disproportionate relative to their economic vitality. Hence, for these two districts, poverty is less of an explanatory variable than probably for the other four. It is reasonable to assume, then, that as far as the residents in the other four districts are concerned, poverty is perhaps a less salient factor influencing residents in a decision to commit a crime.

This assessment is probably more true for the First District than for the Third. With reference to the latter, there is a great deal of influx of persons from other districts. Thus, much of the crime perpetrated in the Third District is undoubtedly attributable to outsiders.

By the same token, one would expect, pursuant to most poverty-crime hypotheses, that the crime rate in the First District would be much lower. Other factors such as age and sex of the residents, employment trends, neighborhood background and psychological make-up should be investigated in terms of identifying pertinent explanatory variables for the First District.

The other five districts, thus, in reality have comparatively lower crime rates given their respective poverty levels. What this means is that if poverty were eliminated as a feature of those communities, there would be a lower crime rate for them than for the First, more affluent District.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

STATE OF BLACK CLEVELAND, 1989 RECOMMENDATIONS

One thing that has become clear from past research efforts is that the promulgation of recommendations without a clear program of either implementation objectives or implementation resources tables is a fruitless activity. Therefore, rather than reiterate a cataloguing of the recommendations that are presented in the *State of Black Cleveland* chapters, this section on Recommendations outlines the practical implementation plan for actual amelioration of the conditions plaguing African Americans currently in the Greater Cleveland Area.

The foundation for this implementation program is the establishment of a *State of Black Cleveland* Strategy and Work Plan with different Divisions: Education, Economics, Research, Race Relations, Family and Social Issues. These divisions vary slightly from the Table of Content Sections found in the book due to their respective relationships to the need for social action as presented by "STBC" authors.

The Research Advisory Committee, of the Urban League of Greater Cleveland for the identification, monitorization and evaluation of the rate of progress achieved each year by African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area. This will be accomplished using 1989 as the base year for the initiation of an annual comparative analysis. The statistics presented for 1989 in each of the respective areas of concern will thus serve as the criteria for identifying change in future years. Positive or negative change in the statistics will signal to what extent, as well as what type of interventive strategies are needed in response to the conditions represented by those statistics.

The Research Advisory Committee utilizing the book as its primary planning guide, will 1) set forth the initial problems 2) establish the problems' objectives for change; and, 3) specify the corresponding measurable outcomes to be sought for each goal. The most important component inherent in this process,however, is in the identification of specifically who or what groups, organizations, etc. should be responsible or held accountable for the achievement of those goals. That Review will be submitted to Area Decisionmakers for short range implementation. Long range planning may also be done by the Research Advisory Committee but the results of such planning are usually not experienced as immediately.

As previously mentioned, the rate of progress for each respective *State of Black Cleveland* Division will be measured by the Research Advisory Committee. The proposed members of the respective Divisions are presented in the following. All of the Division members will be used as resource persons for the implementation of the *State of Black Cleveland* author Recommendations. The ultimate measure of success will be the attainment of parity or group actualization in all Division Areas.

State Of Black Cleveland — Strategy and Work Plan
1989 - 1990
Agenda For The 1990's

Objectives	*Responsibility*
1. ECONOMIC DIVISION	*(Organizational/Individual)*
To achieve parity in all sectors and levels of economic activity in the Greater Cleveland area.	*Greater Cleveland Representatives* The Urban League of Greater Cleveland The City of Cleveland Department of Community Development The Council for Economic Opportunities in Greater Cleveland The Cuyahoga County Commissioners Office The State of Ohio's Governor's Office U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission The U.S. Small Business Administration The Twenty-First District Congressional Caucus The Minority Contractors Assistance Program AmeriTrust Development Bank Society National Bank Huntington National Bank National City Bank The Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor The Pipefitters Union Local No. 120 The Plumbers Union Local No. 55 The Painters Union District Council 6 The Carpenters District Council & Affiliated Local Unions The Bricklayers & Masons Union No. 5 Ohio IU of BAC
Business To increase the number and annual incomes of Black business in the Greater Cleveland area.	
To increase the skill levels and knowledge of potential Black business owners in the Greater Cleveland area.	
To increase the service/product quality of Black business in the area.	

To increase and institutionalize the markets of Black business in the area.	The Electrical Workers IBEW Locals No. 38, 39 & 1377 Building Laborers International Union of North America Local 860 Cement Mason Local No. 404 Teamsters Joint Council No. 41 Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Union Local No. 10 & 546 Cleveland Bakers Local No. 19 United Auto, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America The Cuyahoga Plan Housing Advocates, Inc. The Greater Cleveland Roundtable The Greater Cleveland Growth Association Cleveland Tomorrow Antioch Credit Union Shiloh Credit Union
Public Service/Utilities To increase public information particularly in regard to economic impact of utilities upon the area.	
Housing To increase the quantity and quality of housing stock available to area Blacks.	City Council President George L. Forbes
Equal Economic Opportunity To increase the level of economic opportunity among Blacks.	U.S. Representative Louis B. Stokes City Council President George L. Forbes
To coordinate and mobilize equal economic opportunity efforts throughout the community.	

Income Maintenance To identify the extent and nature of poverty in the Black community. To mobilize and coordinate efforts to combat poverty and its impact in the Black community.	Mr. Edwin M. Robinson Mr. George C. Zeller
Politics To disseminate knowledge of the impact of politics upon educational, economic, family and other institutions in the community. To increase knowledge of the background and processes with regard to the political status of Blacks in the community.	U.S. Representative Louis B. Stokes Professor Booker T. Tall City Council President George L. Forbes
International Relations To increase knowledge of and activity in the international community — particularly as regards the continent of Africa.	Professor Gaston Ndyajunwoha Ms. Cheryle A. Wills
II. EDUCATION DIVISION To obtain educational parity at every level and in every sector of the Greater Cleveland community.	***Greater Cleveland Representatives*** The Urban League of Greater Cleveland The Cleveland Public Schools Cuyahoga Community College Cleveland State University

Higher Education
To monitor and increase the access and success of Black students entering institutions of higher education in the area.

Public School Education
To establish a more coordinated "bridge" between public school and higher education.

Early Childhood Education
To increase parenting skills among teenagers in particular of parents in the Greater Cleveland area.

To increase economic subsidy for the pre-school education of children from low and middle income families.

To increase knowledge by and about Black pre-school youngsters which is fundamental to their later growth.

Case Western Reserve University
The Scholarship-in-Escrow Program
The Cleveland School Budget Coalition
The Western Cuyahoga County Suburban School Districts
The Eastern Cuyahoga County Suburban School Districts
Cleveland City Government Representative
Cuyahoga County Government Representative
Ohio State Government Representative
U.S. Federal Government Representatives

President Nolen M. Ellison
Dean J. John Harris

Ms. C.J. Prentiss

Educational Research & Evaluation

To develop a valid and reliable data source for analysis of factors which impact upon the quality of education with regard to Black youth.

Dr. Duvon G. Winborne
Dr. Sanza B. Clark

To disseminate accurate educational information for and about Black students.

To increase funding for education and accompanying life skill development among Black students.

To increase the number of Blacks who go on and obtain higher education.

The Arts

To fairly and accurately portray Black life in the Greater Cleveland area.

Dr. Dolores Person Lairet

To increase the number, extent and quality of Black participation in the Performing Arts.

To increase the number of Black owned and/or operated forums for Black Performing Art expression.

III. RESEARCH DIVISION

To develop valid and reliable data by and about the African American Greater Cleveland Community which is maintained and disseminated in a systematic and effective manner.

Greater Cleveland Representatives

The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
The Urban Education Research Center – CSU
The Cuyahoga Community College Planning and Research Department
Case Western Reserve University Research Office
The Greater Cleveland Roundtable
The Cleveland Foundation
The George Gund Foundation
The City of Cleveland Research and Development Division
United Way
The Federation for Community Planning
Cleveland City Government Representative
Cuyahoga County Government Representative
Ohio State Government Representative
U.S. Federal Government Representative
Cleveland Tomorrow
The Cleveland Convention Center
Tower City Enterprises

IV. SOCIAL ISSUES DIVISION

To obtain parity with reference to full and effective participation in every societal institution influencing

Greater Cleveland Representatives

The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
The Center for Human Services
The Neighborhood Centers Association
The Inner-City Ministerial Alliance
The Cleveland Health Department

220	the quality of life for African Americans in the Greater Cleveland Area.	The Legal Aid Society of Greater Cleveland The Cuyahoga County Department of Human Services The American Civil Liberties Union The Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority The Cuyahoga County Board of Mental Health
	Justice (Criminal) To increase awareness of how the Criminal Justice System operates and why with reference to Blacks.	The Regional Drug and Alcoholism Commission The Cuyahoga County Criminal Defense Lawyers Association The Cuyahoga Plan The Ohio Department of Youth Services The Cleveland Department of Safety
	(Civil) To increase knowledge and strategies to enhance Black access to legal resources and remedies.	Dr. Willis M. Hemmons
	Juvenile Justice To increase knowledge concerning the causes and concerns of Black juvenile participation in crime and develop coordinated interventive strategies.	Dr. Mary S. Jackson
	Chemical Dependency To reduce the extent of Chemical Dependency in the treatment efforts.	Dr. Joseph Methapo

To reverse the escalation of drugs and its consequences in the Greater Cleveland Community.

Civil Rights

To continue to update, monitor and implement Civil Rights efforts on behalf of Blacks in the Greater Cleveland area on all fronts including economic, educational, governmental, etc.

U.S. Representative Louis B. Stokes

To institutionalize the dissemination of information regarding Civil Rights.

To mobilize and coordinate Civil Rights efforts by Area organizations/individuals.

V. *FAMILY DIVISION*

To increase the level of family functioning among Blacks in the area in terms of their ability to relate to each other and outsiders.

Dr. Andrew W. Edwards

To increase the number and quality of family supportive services in the community.

Health

To increase the quality of health and health services for Blacks in the area.

Dr. Michael R. Williams

272

To increase knowledge of Black health concerns as well as the resources needed to address them.

To disseminate accurate health information in the community.

Teenage Pregnancy
To identify the extent and consequences of Black teenage pregnancy in the community and to reduce its frequency.

Dr. D. Hendricks-Sterling

Women's Rights
To sensitize and increase support for the special problems women – particularly Black women – face in achieving equity.

Ms. Cheryle A. Wills

VI. *RACE RELATIONS DIVISION*
To improve Race Relations between Ethnic Groups in the Greater Cleveland Community.

Greater Cleveland Representatives
The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
The Council on Human Relations
The NAACP
The United Black Fund
The Twenty-First Congressional District Caucus
Karamu
The African American Museum
The Greater Cleveland Roundtable

Religion
To increase knowledge of the dynamic role of religion in the enhancement of Black life.

Rev. Dr. Otis Moss

$19.00

The Urban League of Greater Cleveland
12001 Shaker Blvd., Cleveland Ohio 44120 • (216) 421-0999